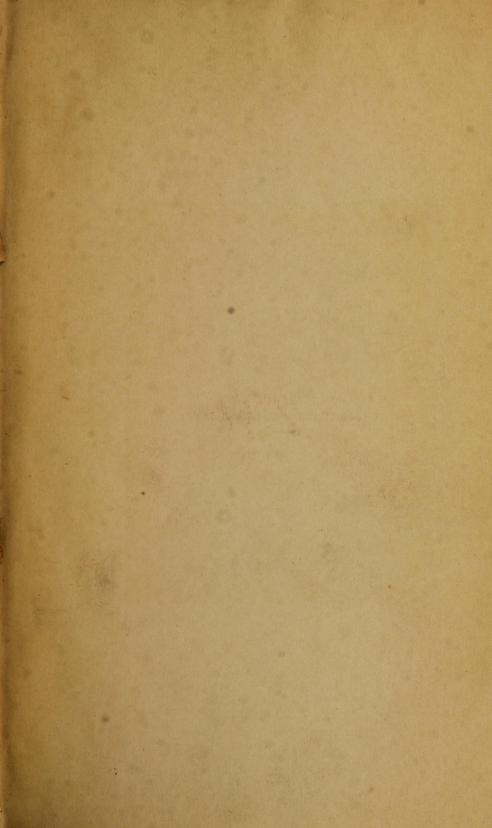


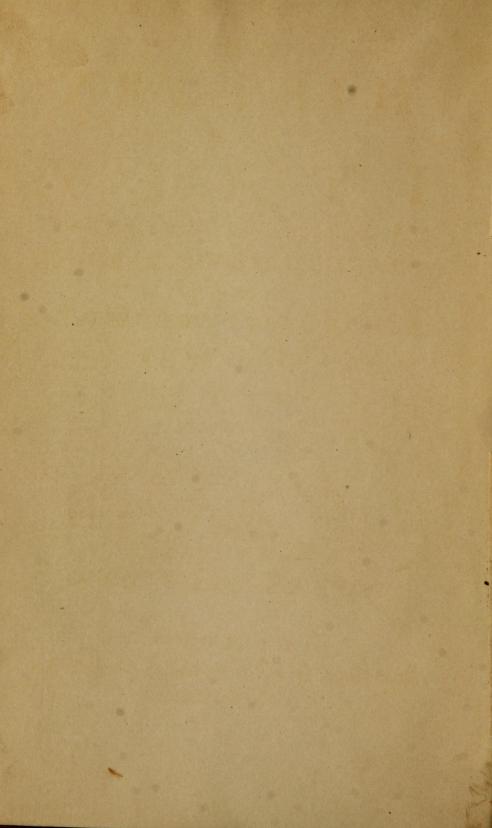
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# HISTORY

OF

# ITALY,

Translated from the ITALIAN of FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI,

BY

AUSTIN PARKE GODDARD, Efq;
The THIRD EDITION.

V O L. 1X.



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# HISTORY

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PRANCESCO CUICCIARDINI,

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## Francesco Guicciardini's

## HISTORY

OF

### The WARS in ITALY.

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#### B O O K XVII.

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#### THE CONTENTS.

The Pope, the King of France, the Venetians, and the Duke of Milan confederate against Cæsar. Castle of Milan surrendered to the Imperialists, after some faint Attempts of the Army of the League, under the Duke of Urbino, to relieve it. Wars in Lombardy and Tuscany. Siege of Cremona. Lewis King of Hungary defeated and slain by Solyman. Rome surprised by the Colonnas. Pope makes a Truce with the Imperialists; and the Duke of Verrara confederates with them.

H Deliverance of the King of A. D.

France, tho' obtained under the 1526.

France, tho Oaths, and mutual

Faith

6436

#### THE HISTORY OF

A. D. Faith given between the two Princes, and 1526. a Band of a new Affinity, and all confirmed and strengthened by the Pledge of two Sons, one of these the First-born, and Heir apparent to fo great a Succession, Great Ex-raised vast Expectations in the Christian

from the King of France.

pectations Princes, and diverted the Eyes of all Men, which before were only fixed on Cafar, upon himself, very different and no less important Events depending on his obferving, or not, the Treaty of Madrid. For if he observed it, all plainly saw that Italy, infufficient to defend itself with its own Strength, was doomed to Slavery without Remedy, the Authority and Grandeur of Cæsar increasing in a surprising Manner: If he should not observe it, 'Casar would be under a Necessity, from the Non-observance of the King of France, either to forget the Plotting of the Duke of Milan against him, and restore him that Dutchy, that the Pontiff and Venetians might have no Cause to join with the King, and fo lose such great Profits expected from the Victory; or, if he were more influenced by an Indignation conceived against the Duke of Milan, and a

Defire

#### THE WARS IN ITALY.

Defire to have no Obstruction from the French in Italy, to establish an Agreement with the King, converting the Obligation of the Restitution of Burgundy into the Payment of a Sum of Money; or, sinally, if he could not prevail with himself to stoop to either of these Expedients, be content to take upon his Hands a War from so many Enemies, tho' very difficult, as appeared in a manner by his own Confession, since, in order to avoid it, he was obliged to release, with so much Danger, the King of France.

But the Public was not long held in Suspense concerning the Mind of the King; for being, as soon as he arrived at Bayonne, sollicited by the Viceroy of Naples to ratify the Agreement, as he had promised to do as soon as he should be in a free Place, he deferred it from Day to Day with various Excuses. And by such Means to nourish the Hopes of Casar he sent a proper Person to signify to him, that he had not immediately made the Ratisfication, because it was necessary, before he proceeded to that Act, to mollify the Spirits

A 3

of

6

A. D. of his People, who were discontented at the Obligations, which tended to the Diminution of the Crown of France; but that, in Spite of all Difficulties, he would undoubtedly observe all he had promised. Hence, it being eafy to comprehend his Mind, a few Days afterwards arrived fome Persons sent by the Pope and Venetians, who needed not to use much Diligence to affure themselves of his Inclination; for, having given them a generous Reception, in the first Conference which he had with each of them separately, he greatly complained of the Inhumanity with which the Emperor had used him at the Time when he was a Prisoner, not treating him in a Manner suitable to such a Prince as he was, nor with that Spirit which was becoming a Prince who had Commiseration of the Calamities of another Prince, or confidered that what had happened to him might as well have befallen himself. He quoted the Example of Edward King of England, him who was called Edward Long-Shanks, who, when John King of France, taken by his Son the Prince of

Wales, at the Battle of Poictiers, was pre-

fented

King of France complains of the Emperor.

A. D. 1526.

fented to him, not only received him courteously, but left him in free Custody all the Time he was a Prisoner in the Island, always familiarly converfed with him, and made him a Party in his Pleasures of Hunting and Feafting, nor did by this Means lose the Prisoner, nor obtain a less favourable Agreement for himself. Hence there grew fo great a Familiarity and Confidence between them, that John, even after he had been fet at Liberty, and had remained feveral Years in France, voluntarily returned into England, purely out of a Defire to revisit his Host. He only remembered, he faid, two Kings of France who had been taken Prisoners in Battle, John and himself; but the Difference of the Examples was no less remarkable, fince one might be alledged as an Example of the Courtefy, and the other might ferve for an Example of the Austerity of the Conqueror: Nor had he found him of a more placable and gentle Disposition towards others, but, on the contrary, was affured from the Discourse which they had held together at Madrid, that, posfessed with the Height of Ambition, he had

A. D. had no other Defign than to reduce the Church, Italy, and all the other Princes into a State of Slavery: For which Reafon it was his Defire that the Pope and the Venetians would feriously think of providing for their own Safety, fince he would demonstrate to them how willing and ready he was to concur in the Defence of the common Safety, and to enter into a strict Alliance with them for taking up Arms against Cæsar, not to recover the State of Milan for himself, or otherwise to increase his Power, but only that by means of a War he might obtain his Children, and Italy her Liberty: That Cafar, blinded by an excessive Covetousness, had not the Discretion to oblige him in fuch a Manner as that he should be His Reabound to stand to the Capitulation, confons for not think-fidering that both at first, when he was in ing himself bound the Castle of Pizzichitone, and afterwards by the

Agreement.

in Spain in the Castle of Madrid, he had oftentimes protested to Cafar, after he had feen his iniquitous Demands, that if, constrained by Necessity, he should yield to unjust Conditions, which it was not in his Power to perform, he would not only

not

not perform them, but, on the contrary, looking on himself as injured by him, in 1526. being bound to dishonourable and impossible Engagements, would not fail to revenge himself if ever he had an Opportunity. Nor did he omit frequently to inculcate what the Council might have known of themselves, and what was believed also to be common to other Kingdoms, that it was not in the Power of a King of France to oblige himself, without the Consent of the States General of the Kingdom, to alienate any Thing appertaining to the Crown; that the Christian Laws did not permit a Prisoner of War to remain in perpetual Imprisonment, because it was a Punishment fit for Criminals, and never defigned for fuch as are depressed by the Malice of Fortune. Every one knows that Obligations extorted by Violence in a Prison were of no Value, and the Capitulation being invalid, his Faith, also which was accessary, and confirmatory of it was no way obliged: That there were preceding Oaths taken at Rheims, where the Kings of France are confecrated with fuch a Multitude of Ceremonies.

A. D. monies, and with the celestial Oil, by which they are obliged not to alienate the Patrimony of the Crown. For these Reafons he was not less free than ready to moderate the Insults of Casar.

THE same Disposition appeared in the King's Mother, and also in his Sister, who, because she had taken a fruitless Journey to Spain, made great Complaints of the Austerity of Cajar, and of all the chief Men of his Court who were concerned in the Management of private Business, not doubting but that, after the Arrival of full Powers from the Pope and Venetians, a Conclusion would foon be put to the League, which it was proper, they faid, to negotiate in France, for the better Conveniency of drawing in the King of England to be an Affociate, of which they seemed to entertain great Hopes. Such was the Talk of the King and his Ministers in public with great Asseverations, but in private his Thoughts were very different; for being wholly determined not to yield up Burgundy to Cæsar, he was also averse from entering into a War against him,

His secret Design.

II . D.

him, unless forced by Necessity; but, by A. Itreating of a Confederacy with the Italians, he was in Hopes that Casar, to avoid running into so many Difficulties, would be induced to convert the Article of the Restitution of Burgundy into a pecuniary Obligation, in which Case no Regard to the Affairs of Italy would have withheld him from an Accommodation, for the Sake of having his Children restored to him.

BUT the Agents of the Pope and Venetians, having received such great Hopes from the King, immediately notified the Answer which they had obtained at a Time when both the Necessity and Opportunity of an Union against Cafar in Italy were increased: The Necessity, because the Duke of Milan, who in the Beginning, partly through the Fault of his Ministers, and partly for Want of Time to provide himself, had put but a small Quantity of Victuals into the Castle, and that little had not been distributed with that Frugality which is usual among Men in the like Circumstances, gave every Day Notice (for, though besieged in the Castle,

he

he always found Means to write) that his A. D. Provisions-would not hold out till the End of June, and that, if no Way could be found to fupply him with more, he would be necessitated to surrender to Casar at Discretion. And though he was supposed to have exaggerated, as is usual with those who are befieged, the Diffress beyond the Truth, yet there were many Reasons to think that his Provisions were short; and to let the Castle fall into the Hands of Casar, besides increasing his Reputation, would render the recovering of that State much more difficult. But the Opportunity seemed to be no less increased, because all the People were reduced to the utmost Despair: For Cæsar sending no Money to pay his Dutchy of Troops, which were now many Payments

Milan forely op in Arrears, and there being no Means of pressed. procuring it from any other Hands, the Generals had distributed the Men at Arms and the light Horse into Quarters all over the Country, charging this Town with finding Quarters for one Company, and that Town with quartering another; so that the Inhabitants, to excuse themselves from that Burden, were necessitated to

compound

compound with the Generals and Soldiers A. D. by Money, which was fo rigorously exacted, that it was the constant Report at that Time, and positively afferted by many who were well versed in the Affairs of that State, that the Dutchy of Milan paid each Day to the Cafarean Army Five Thousand Ducats, of which, as it is said, Antonio da Leva received thirty Ducats for his own Share. The Infantry besides, which was quartered in Milan and other Towns, not only expected to be wholly found in Diet by the Landlords of the Houses in which they lived, but many times a Number of Foot affembling at the fame House the Master was obliged to provide Victuals for them all; other Houses, not having the Means to supply them with Food, were constrained to compound with Money; and fometimes it happened that the fame Soldier had Quarters allotted him in different Houses, one of which he chose to find him in Diet, and from the rest he exacted Money.

This miserable Condition, and Oppression exercised with such great Cruelty, had 14

A. D. had made all the Inhabitants of the Dutchy , quite desperate, but especially the People of Milan, who were never accustomed, before the Marquis of Pescara had entered their City, to be burdened with finding Victuals, or contributing towards Quarters for the Soldiery, and being powerful in Number and Arms, though not so numerous as they used to be before the Plague, were unable to bear fuch intolerable Infolence, and most rigorous Exactions; and, therefore, to free themselves from them, or, at least, to have them moderated in some measure, the Milanese had sent Ambassadors to Casar, but had been dismissed with an Answer in general Terms without any Redress. Nor was Milan, though burdened, according to its Proportion, with a greater Number of Soldiers than other Towns, excused from paying Money towards the public Expences, or fuch Sums as happened to be charged by the Orders of the Generals for the Support of Cæfar's Government; and this Money being difficult to be raifed, the Officers appointed for that Purpole were very levere in levying it. The People, by thefe Pro-

Proceedings, being driven to the last De- A. D. gree of Despair, agreed with one Consent among themselves to refift the Exactions with Arms in hand, and that whoever should find himself aggrieved by the Collectors should call his next Neighbour to his Defence, all which, followed by others who were to be called, should affemble together at the Command of Officers appointed in many Parts of the City for refifting those employed in the Exactions, and the Soldiers who offered to favour them. After these Orders had been given, it happened that a Blacksmith in the Tumult Town, the Collectors being come to af-in Milan. fefs him, raifed the Neighbourhood for his Defence, and those next him being followed by a Concourfe of others of the Populace, the Tumult grew to a very great Infurrection in all Parts of the City. To repress this Disorder, and quiet the Minds of the People, Antonio da Leva, and the Marquis dal Guafta, attended by some Noblemen of Milan, ran in all Haste, and prefenting themselves before the Multitude at last appealed the Tumult, but not till the General had promised that they would

A. D. would be contented with the public Revenues, and not burden any one with other Impositions, nor increase the Number of Soldiers in Milan. This Agreement lasted but till the next Day, when Advice coming that new Soldiers were approaching towards the City the People flew to Arms, and in much better Order, and with a greater Concourfe, than the Day before. The Generals, beginning to doubt they should not be able to refist the Torrent of the popular Fury, had, as many affirm, an Inclination to depart with their Troops out of Milan; and it is believed that they would have put it in Execution. if the Peeple in one united Body had shewed themselves in a Readiness and Resolution to attack them and the Soldiers: But they ignorantly fell to plunder the Old Court, where the Judge of criminal Causes with a certain Number of Foot refided, making that the first which ought to have been the last Act of their Execution. From this Diforder the Imperial Generals, refuming their Courage, and having fortified the Streets, and called off most Part of the Troops that were **flationed** Fall more

stationed at the Siege of the Castle, drew A. D. together in Order, ready to make Refistance if the People offered to attack them. The Besieged took this Opportunity to make a Sally out of the Castle, and attack the Trenches made on the Infide, but foon retired, not feeing themfelves feconded by the People, who, partly for want of Experience in Arms, and partly from an Eagerness to carry to their Houses the Goods they had plundered in the Old Court, not only omitted every proper Operation, but feemed rather about to break and disperse. The Generals laying hold of this Opportunity, with the Interpolition of some of the Nobles, pacified also this Tumult, but with a Promise to remove all the Soldiers out of the City and Territory of Milan, except the German Foot that affifted at the Siege of the Castle. Thus easily did the Policy of the military Men enable them to avoid a very great Danger, to elude the Efforts of a Populace unpractifed in Arms, and to repress the Disorders in which a tumultuous Multitude, destitute of prudent and valiant Leaders, eafily involve themselves. But VOL. IX. as

A. D. as the People neither broke off their Intelligences and Combinations, nor laid down their Arms, but rather every Day manifested a Disposition to greater Commotions; fuch a Juncture feemed to afford an Opportunity of very great Moment to those who had a Defign to embarrass the Affairs of Cæfar, especially confidering the small Forces and other Difficulties of the Imperialists, and remembering also that in the late War the furprifing Ardor and Zeal which the People of Milan and of the other Towns had expressed in their Favour had been a very great Foundation for the Defence of that State.

> SUCH was the Situation of Affairs in Italy, when Advices arrived from France of the ready Disposition and Offers of the King, and of the Request he made for fending Commissioners: And at the fame time the Ambaffadors of the King of England, at the Court of Rome, were not wanting to stimulate the Pontiff to think on Methods for moderating the Greatness of Cafar, and to hearten and encourage

the King of France not to observe the Ca- A. D. pitulation. On these Considerations not only the Venetians, who at all Times, and on much less Occasions had advised the taking up Arms, but even the Pontiff, tho' it was with great Difficulty that he disposed himself to engage in so troublesome an Affair, judged himself obliged to fum up all his Reasonings, and no longer to delay coming to some Resolution. The Reasons which, some Months Reasons fince, had inclined him to War, were inclining not only the same, but even stronger and the Pope to a War more confiderable: For as, in proportion against to the Length of Time which had been Cafar. been spent in the Negotiations, Cafar had been the better enabled to discover that the Mind of the Pontiff was averse to his Greatness, so the Pontiff, by the Agreement which Cafar had made with the King of France, had entered into a just Suspicion that he should not be able to obtain of him reasonable Conditions, and that he had a Defign to oppress the rest of Italy; and the Danger was every Day the more imminent, as the Surrender of the Castle of Milan approached.

He

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1526.

A. D. He was provoked by the repeated Injuries of the Imperial Generals, who, after the Capitulation of Madrid, had fent a Regiment of Italian Foot to quarter in the Piacentine and Parmefan, where they did infinite Damage; and the Pontiff complaining of it, they answered that they were come thither of their own Authority because they were not He was also disturbed at Things perhaps more trifling, but interpreted, as it happens under Suspicions and Complaints, in the worst Sense. For Cafar having published in Spain certain Edicts against the Authority of the Apostolic See, by virtue of which his Subjects were prohibited to try Causes relating to the Benefices of those Kingdoms in the Courts of Rome, a Spanish Notary had the Boldness to enter the Court of Chancery in Rome the Day appointed for hearing Causes, and to notify to the Parties, in the Name of Cæfar, that they should defist from pleading in that Court. And it did not only appear that, by the Releasement of the Most Christian King, the Knot was unty'd which had held the Minds of every one

1526.

in Perplexity, that the French would defert the League for the fake of recovering their King, and the Company of the King of France was known to be of much greater Importance to the Undertaking than that of the Mother and of the Government besides would have been, but also the other Opportunities seemed greater; for the Infurrection of the People of Milan appeared of no small Moment, and from the Scarcity of Provisions in that State it was judged that it would be of great Advantage to attack the Imperialists before they should have the Convenience, by means of the Harvest, to victual all the strong Towns before the Castle of Milan should be lost, and Cæsar have longer Time to fend Recruits and Money into Italy. It came under Confideration also that the King of France, who, from the Memory of past Transactions, was probably distrustful of the Pontiff, not finding in him any hearty Disposition to the War, might resolve to observe the Agreement made at Madrid, or confirm it anew. And it was not doubted but the Conjunction of fuch great Forces by Land and by federace

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A. D. Sea, with the Means for supporting the Charges, tho' burthenfome, for a long Time, would procure the Confederates a great Superiority in the Operations of the War over Cæsar, who was deserted by all others, and exhausted of Money. only Scruple that pleaded to the contrary was the Fear the King would defert the other Allies for regaining his Children, as the like Doubt had been raised of the Government of France when the King was a Prisoner. The Case however was reckoned different; for, by taking up Arms against Cæsar, under so many Advantages, the Hopes that the King would recover his Children by Force appeared fo great, and the Success would prove so highly to his Reputation, that he had no Cause to hearken to a particular Agreement, which would be not only attended with Difgrace to himself, but turn out greatly to his own Prejudice, if not at present, yet certainly in Futurity. For by permitting Cæsar to reduce Italy under his Obedience, the Kingdom of France must at last be greatly endangered; from which Reason it was likewise inferred, that he would think himself obliged to engage in the War with the greater Vigour, fince it must be the Refult of a very weak Counsel to confederate

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federate against Cæsar, and by that means to deprive himself of the Recovery of his Children by observing the Agreement, and yet, on the other hand, neglect the Pursuit of such Measures as would put him in Hopes of gloriously obtaining their Redemption by Force of Arms.

THOSE who reasoned in this Manner confidered perhaps more what was fit and reasonable to be done, than the Genius and Prudence of the French; an Error, which is certainly oftentimes incurred by the Consultations and Judgments that are passed on the Wills and Dispositions of others: Or rather, perhaps, they have not perfectly confidered how eafily Princes. who are often conscious of their own Inclination to prefer Interest to Faith, perfuade themselves of the same in other Princes; and that on this Motive the King of France suspecting that the Pontiff and Venetians, as soon as they were secured from the Power of Cæsar, by the Conquest of the Dutchy of Milan, would difregard, or become averse to his Interest, judged the Length of the War more expedient for his Purpose than the Victory, as the more likely Means to induce Cafar, tired and exhausted B 4

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exhausted with Troubles and Expences, to restore him his Children by a new Agreement. But the Pontiff, moved by the foregoing Reasons, but much more by repenting that he had fat idly waiting the Success of the Battle of Pavia, and had been censured and reproached for his Timidity by every Body, by the Cries of all his Ministers, of the whole Court, and of all Italy, which laid to his Charge that, the Apostolic See, and all Italy had been reduced to fuch a dangerous Situation thro' his Fault, resolved at last not only to enter into a Confederacy with the King of France and with the others against Cafar, and to haften the Conclusion of it, as well for other Respects, as especially that Provision might be made in Time for relieving the Castle of Milan, before it should be constrained by Famine to surrender to Veneticans, as foon as they were it yman at the Power of Cafar, by the Conquett of

This Necessity was the Cause of all the Calamities that followed; for otherwise, by proceeding more slowly, the Pontiff, on whose Authority the Venetians had no small

Pope refolves to enter into a War against Cafar.

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1526.

fmall Dependence in that perplexed Junc- A. D. ture, might have waited to fee whether Cæfar, provoked by the Non-observance of the Capitulation by the King of Frances would propose, for the common Security, those Conditions which he had drawn up before, when he had been necessitated to take up Arms; and, not being constrained to shew himself to the King of France under fuch great Necessity, he would have obtained of him better Conditions for himself and for the Venetians. But without doubt the Articles of the Confederacy should have been more distinct, the Security for the Observance better established, and at last the War should not have been commenced before the Swift had been put in Motion, and all the necesfary Provisions actually in Readiness; and perhaps the League would have been ftrengthened by the Accession of the King of England, with whom they had no Time to treat on account of the Distance. But it appearing to the Pope and to the Venetians that it was of the highest Importance to be expeditious, on account of the Danger of the Caftle, they immediately, tho and very

A. D. very privately, dispatched away Orders to their Agents to conclude the Confederacy; and, for the greater Expedition, they were referred, with little Variation, to the same Articles which had before been debated with the Regentess. But fresh Advices continually arriving of the Distress of the Castle, the Pontiff began to consider that, because the direct Road from Rome to the Court of France was stopped, it was neceffary to fend the Dispatches a long Way about thro' Switzerland, and that some Difficulties might eafily arife in capitue lating, which would unavoidably take up fo much Time as might happen to retard the Conclusion of the Confederacy fo long that, if the Provisions for the Succour of the Castle were deferred till after the Treaty was figued, it was to be feared that they would come too late. Confulting therefore an this dangerous Point with the Kenetians, who were preffed also by the Agents of the Duke of Milan residing in Rome and Venices and by many of his Pari tisans, who proposed divers Schemes, it was resolved to prepare fucin a Force as might appear sufficient to relieve the Castle, very and

#### THE WARS IN ITALY.

and to employ it for that Purpose as soon A. D. as they should have Advice from France of the Conclusion of the League, and in the mean time to encourage the People of Milan with Hopes, and to foment various Conspiracies, Schemes of which had been laid before them, in the Towns of that State. Wherefore it was jointly concluded that the Venetians should order the Duke of Urbino to march with all Expedition to their Frontiers towards the River Adda, Preparatiwith their Men at Arms, and Six Thou-ons of the fand Italian Foot; and that the PontiffPope and should fend Count Guido Rangone, with Venetians. Six Thousand Foot, to Piacenza. And because it appeared necessary to have a large Body of Swifs, no less than Twelve Thousand, as the Duke of Urbino fignified to the Venetians, in order to obtain a compleat Victory; and the Pontiff and the Venetians, being cautious of discovering themselves so openly against Casar before they were certified that the League had been figned, were willing to fend into Swifferland Agents of their own to levy them, they hearkened to Gianjacopo de' Medici, a Milanese, who had been Gover-

ELTEVY.

nor

A. D. nor of the Castle of Mus, but taking Advantage of the Times, and being well acquainted with the Strength of the Place, had made himself Lord of that Fortress. He informed them that some Months before he had held Correspondence with feveral Swiss Officers for that Purpose, and offered, on the receipt of Six Thoufand Ducats, immediately to put in Motion a Body of Six Thousand Swiss, not levied by Decree of the Cantons, but privately, who must receive the Complement of their Pay as foon as they were descended into the Dutchy of Milan. And as it happens in Enterprises which on one hand are accounted easy, and on the other pushed forward by the Straitness of Time, not only this Man's Offer, especially being approved by the Ministers of the Duke of Milan, and by Ennie, Bishop of Veruli (whom the Pope intrusted with the Affairs of the Swifs, because he had long managed them in the Name of the Church, and therefore had, by his Order, resided many Months at Brescia, andat that Time attended the Venetian Proveditor, whence he was continually treating TOL with

1526 .

with many of that Nation) was, without A. D. further Confideration, accepted by the Pope and Venetians, but also Credit was given in Venice to the Proposal of Ottaviano Sforza, Bishop of Lodi, who offered to raise a great Number of Swiss with Ease, and was immediately, by the Senate, without otherwise confulting the Pontiff, dispatched to Swifferland, to raife Six Thousand more in the same Manner, and with the fame Payments. The Want of a right Understanding in those Affairs was one main Cause, as will appear hereafter, of confounding an Enterprise which was fet on foot with fo fair a Prospect of Success.

Bu T while these Preparations were making in Italy, Cæsar, beginning to entertain Suspicion from the Delays interposed to the Ratification, sent Orders to the Viceroy of Naples, who with the Hostages and Queen Eleonara had stopped at the Town of Vittoria, in order to conduct them to the King as foon as he had fulfilled the Articles of the Capitulation, to repair, in Company with Alarcone.

A. D. Alarcone, to the King of France, who was removed from Bayonne to Coignac, and thoroughly to inform himfelf of his Intentions. Though the Viceroy was re-ceived with very great Honour and Caresses, both as the Minister of Casar, and as the Person to whom the most Christian King acknowleged himself in a great measure indebted for his Liberty, he found him quite averse from parting with Burgundy, sometimes excusing himfelf by pretending that it would be almost impossible for him to obtain the Confent of the Kingdom, fometimes alledging that he would never have freely consented to a Promise which was for highly prejudicial to the Crown of France, that it was not in his Power to fulfil it. But as he was defirous of maintaining the Friendship begun with Cafar, and Burgundy to perfect the Affinity, he would content, all other Matters resting on the

King of France refuses to vield.

> fame Foot that had been agreed between them, to pay unto Cæfar, instead of giving him Burgundy, Two Millions of Crowns, professing that nothing else induced him to confirm, with this Moderation, the Con-

federacy

### THE WARS IN ITALY.

federacy made at Madrid, but the great Inclination that he had to live in good Correspondence with Cafar, since he did not want for Offers and Incitements from the Pontiff, from the King of England, and from the Venetians to renew the War. This his Answer and his ultimate Refolution both the Viceroy fignified to Cafar, and the King fent one of his Secretaries to Madrid to make the same Declaration. Hence it proceeded that, tho' the Commissioners of the Pontiff and the Venetians, so much before defired, arrived at the fame Time, yet the King, more inclined to an Agreement with Cafar, and therefore determined to expect an Answer to this new Expedient, of which the Viceroy had given him Hopes, began openly to delay the Conclusion of the Confederacy, not wholly diffembling, because it was impossible to keep it secret, that he was treating of a new Agreement with Cafar, which having been proposed to him by the Viceroy, it could do no Hurt to hear it, but giving strong Assurances, tho' he had resolved otherwise in his Mind, that he would come to no Conclusion

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Conclusion if the Restitution of his Children were not attended with the Evacuation of the Dutchy of Milan, and the Security of all Italy. This Demur would have been sufficient to strike a Damp upon the Spirits of the Pontiff, if his Suspicions had not taken such fast Hold of him, that he could not but imagine that a Confederacy with the King of France was the only Remedy for his Affairs.

But it is very furprifing and almost incredible how mightily Cafar was disturbed in Mind on receiving Advice from the Viceroy, confirmed by the Declaration of the French Secretary; for it grieved him extremely to relinquish his Hopes of recovering Burgundy, highly defired by him for the Augmentation of his Glory, and of the Conveniency of that Province for greater Attempts. He was in a great Passion with the King of France, who, by violating his Promises, and forfeiting his Word of Honour which he had given him, gave a manifest Demonstration to all the World that he despised him. And he was touched to the quick with a Kind of Shame for having, contrary Coddwarm

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contrary to the Advice of almost all those A. D. about him, contrary to the unanimous Opinions of his whole Court, contrary to what had been foretold, after being advertised of the Agreement from Flanders, by the Princess Margaret, his Father's Sifter, and against the Judgment of all his Italian Ministers, by making a wrong Estimate of the Importance and Condition of Affairs, perfuaded himself that the King of France could not fail to observe the Agreement. In the Midst of these troublesome Reflections recollecting himfelf, and diligently calculating what was fuitable to his own Dignity, and in what Dangers and Difficulties his Affairs might yet, in any Case, remain involved, he determined not to alter the Article that mentioned the Restitution of Burgundy, but rather agree with the Pontiff, and confent to reinstate Francesco Sforza, as thinking it more becoming him to pardon a leffer Prince, than, by yielding to the Will of a potent Prince, and one jealous of his Greatness, to betray a kind of Fear. and chusing rather to engage in a most dangerous War against him, than forgive VOL. IX. the

the Injuries he had received from the King of France. For he doubted that the Pontiff, feeing his Friendship defpifed, had totally alienated his Affections from him; and his Suspicion was increased on being informed that he had not only fent a Perfon to France to congratulate the King, but had publicly ordered thither an Ambassador; and still much more because His Holiness had newly enlisted into his Service, under Colour of fecuring the maritime Ports of the Church from the Moors, Andrew Doria, with Eight Gallies, and a yearly Pension of Thirty-five Thousand Ducats. This Agreement, confidering the Quality of the Person, and that the Pontiff had never before thought of a maritime Force, and because Doria had been several Years in the Pay of the King of France, excited a Jealousy that it was made with an Intention to raise Difturbances in Genoa. Wherefore, preparing himself for all Adventures, he made at once a Multitude of Provisions, and hastened the Passage of the Duke of Bourbon into Italy, which before had been retarded; ordering that his Seven Stiff Gallies

Gallies which lay at Monaco should fail A. D. from Italy to Barcelona, to join with some (1526. others; and taking Care that he should carry with him into Italy a Supply of One Hundred Thousand Ducats, because his going thither without Money was of no Purpose. He appointed Don Ugo di Moncada to be dispatched to the Pontiffs with a Commission, as he publicly gave out, to give him Satisfaction; but this was under Limitations, for it was designed that he should go first to the Court of the King of France, with a View that, getting Intelligence of the Viceroy whether there were any Hopes that the King would observe the Agreement, he might then either proceed no farther, or, if he proceeded, that his Instructions should be altered according to the State and Exigencies of Affairs. But to every falutary Counsel of the Pontiff was opposed the Danger of the Surrender of the Castle of Milan, which was now reduced to the greatest Extremity, with the Fear that by some Means or other a Conjunction might be established between the King of France and Cæfar, and the Uncertainty of what might be the Confequence

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A. D. Consequence of the Coming of Don Ugo di Moncada, which gave Room for Suspicion in that he was first to call at the Court of France, and tho' he should proceed to Italy, the Diffimulation and Artifices of the Spaniard were to be suspected afterwards. Wherefore the Pope, together with the Venetians, folliciting the Conclusion of the Confederacy, the King at last, after he had been convinced by the Coming of Don Ugo di Moncada that Cafar was averse from altering the Articles of the Capitulation, fearing that his longer Delay to enter into the League might induce the Pontiff to new Refolutions, and judging that by this Confederacy his Affairs would appear to Cafar in a more advantageous Light, and that Fear might perhaps in some measure bend his Mind, and render him more flexible, stimulated also to the same Purpose by the King of England, who more by Persuasions than Effects promoted the Conclusion of the Treaty, casting away all other Thoughts applied himself solely to the Business of the League, which at length on the Seventeenth Day of May, 1526, was concluded between Confeducate

between the King's Deputies of the Council
on one Part, and the Agents Plenipotentiaries of the Pontiff and of the Venetians League
between
on the other, importing:

League
between
the Pope,
King of

France, THAT between the Pontiff, the King and Veneof France, the Venetians, and the Duke of The Ar-Milan, for whom the Pontiff and the Ve-ticles. tians engaged themselves for his Ratification, there should be a perpetual League and Confederacy, for the Purpose of caufing the Dutchy of Milan to be left free to Francesco Sforza, and of procuring Liberty to the King's Children: That the League made should be intimated to Cafar, and that it should be in his Power to enter the same within the Term of Three Months, on restoring to the King his Children, receiving for their Liberty a reafonable Ranfom, which should be determined by the King of England, and also on leaving the Dutchy of Milan entirely in the Possession of Francesco Sforza, and the other States of Italy in the same Condition as they were in before the Beginning of the last War: That at present, for the Relief of Francesco Sforza, besieged in the Caftle

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A. D. Castle of Milan, and for the Recovery of that State, the Campaign should be opened with Eight Hundred Men at Arms, Seven Hundred Light Horse, and Eight Thousand Foot for the Pontiff; with Eight Hundred Men at Arms, One Thoufand Light Horfe, and Four Thousand Foot for the Share of the Venetians; and with Four Hundred Men at Arms, Three Hundred Light Horse, and Four Thoufand Foot to be provided by the Duke of Milan, as foon as it lay in his Power, and in the mean time the Pontiff and Venetians were to furnish out the Four Thoufand Foot for him: That the King should immediately fend into Italy Five Hundred Lances, and during the War should pay every Month to the Pontiff and Venetians Forty Thousand Crowns, with which Swifs Infantry should be raised: That the King should immediately take the Field against Casar, on the other Side of the Mountains, on what Quarter should appear most convenient, with an Army of at least Two Thousand Lances, and Ten Thousand Foot, with a sufficient Train of Artillery: That he should fit out Twelve Light Gallies.

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Hes, and the Venetians Thirteen at their own Charges: That the Pontiff should join with these the Gallies which he had hired with Andrea Doria: That the Charges of the Ships necessary for the said Fleet should be in common; and that the Fleet should fail against Genoa: That, after the Cæfarean Army in Lombardy should be overthrown or weakened, a powerful Attack should be made both by Sea and Land on the Kingdom of Naples, with which, after its Conquest, the Pontiff might invest King whom he thought fit; but it was provided, in a separate Article, that it should not be in his Power to dispose of it without the Consent of his Allies, retaining however the ancient Tribute accustomed to be paid to the Apostolic See, and a State in his Gift of the Revenue of Forty Thousand Ducats: That to fatisfy the King of France that the Victory which should be obtained in Italy, and the Acquisition of the Kingdom of Naples would facilitate the Releasement of his Children, in fuch a Case, if Cæsar, within Four Months after the Loss of that Kingdom, should think fit to enter the C 4 Confederacy

A. D. Confederacy on the Conditions abovementioned, it should be restored to him; but on his Refusal the Kingdom of Naples should be bound, for Perpetuity, in an annual Tribute to the King of France: That the King of France should not, at any Time, nor for any Cause, be at Liberty to molest Francesco Sforza in the Dutchy of Milan, but, on the contrary, should be obliged, together with the Allies, to defend him against every one, and to procure, as much as lay in his Power, a new Confederacy between him and the Swifs; but should receive of him a yearly Tribute, to be determined by the Pontiff and the Venetians, tho' no less than Fifty Thousand Ducats: That Francesco Sforza should take to Wife a noble Woman of French Blood, at the King's Choice; and should be obliged to maintain in a handsome Manner his Brother Massimiliano, in room of the yearly Pension which he received from the King: That the County of Asi should be restored to the King, and that, on the Recovery of Genoa, he should have the same Superiority in that City

City as he had enjoyed in Times past; and A. D. that if Antoniotto Adorno, the present Doge, thought fit to accede to the League, he should be accepted, but on acknowledging the King of France for his Superior, in the fame Manner as had been done a few Years before by Ottaviano Fregolo: That all the Members of the Confederacy should request of Casar the Releasement of the King's Children, and, on his Refusal, it should be denounced to him, in the Name of them all, that they would omit no Means for procuring it: That as foon as the War should be finished in Italy, or at least the Kingdom of Naples subdued, and the Cafarean Army fo much weakened that it could not create any Apprehensions, they should be obliged to affift the King beyond the Mountains, against Cæsar, with One Thousand Men at Arms, Fifteen Hundred Light Horse, and Eleven Thoufand Foot, or with Money instead of Troops, at the King's Choice: That no Member of the Confederacy should have the Liberty, without the Consent of the others, to make an Agreement with Cafar, who should be permitted to make a Pro-

gress

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A. D. gress to Rome, in case he entered into the Confederacy, for the Imperial Crown, with a Number of Troops not formidable, but fuch as should be directed by the Pontiff, and Venetians: That, in case of the Death of any Member of the Alliance, the League should remain firm; and that the King of England should be Protector and Confervator of the fame, with Liberty to enter into it, and, if he entered, a State should be affigned him in the Kingdom of Naples of the yearly Revenue of Fifty-three Thousand Ducats, and one of Ten Thoufand, either in the fame Kingdom, or in another Part of Italy, to the Cardinal of York. The Pontiff refused to have the Duke of Ferrara comprehended in this Confederacy, tho' it was defired by the King and the Venetians; but, rather on the contrary, he obtained that in the Confederacy it should be expressed, tho' in general Terms, that the Confederates should be obliged to affift him in the Recovery of those Towns which were in Dispute between the Duke and the Church. As to the Florentines, there could be no Doubt but that they were, in effect, comprehend.

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ed in the Confederacy, the Pope defigning not only to make use of their Men at, Arms, and of all their Forces, but also to make them concur with him, and even to fustain the greatest Part of the Expences of the War; but, not to disturb the Commerce which those People held with the Towns subject to Casar, or endanger their Merchants, they were not nominated as Principals, it being only faid that, out of Respect to the Pontiff, they should enjoy all the Exemptions, Privileges, and Benefits of the Confederacy as much as if they were expresly comprehended in it, the Pope engaging they should in no manner oppose the League. The Allies had not provided themselves with a Captain General for the Conduct of the Army and of the War, because the Shortness of the Time would not allow them to debate on an Officer who by his Authority, Quality, and the Confidence they could all repose in him, was qualified to undertake so great a Burden, it not being easy to find a Person in whom was a Concurrence of so many Conditions.

THE League being stipulated, the King, who had not yet wholly cast off all Thoughts of treating with the Viceroy, delayed to ratify it, and to begin with putting his Men at Arms in Motion, and remitting the Twenty-five Thousand Ducats, till the Arrival of the Ratification of the Pope and Venetians, who, tho' disturbed in Mind at this Delay, yet, being pushed forwards by the same Necessities, after Ratification, refolved to begin, with all Speed, the Operations of the War, under the Pretence of a Defign to succour the Castle of Milan. For this End the Pontiff, who had before fent Count Guido Rangone, Commander in Chief of the Army of the Church, with his Men at Arms, and Five Thousand Foot to Piacenza, ordered thither a Reinforcement of Foot, besides the Florentine Men at Arms under Vitello Vitelli, their Commander, and Giovanni de' Medici, whom he appointed Captain General of the Italian Infantry, and declared Francesco

Guicciar- Guicciardini, at that time President of dini promoted by Romagna, his Lieutenant General in the the Pontiff. Army,

Army, and in all the State of the Church, A. D. with very full and almost absolute Power. On the other hand the Venetians augmented their Army, of which the Duke of Urbino was Captain General, and Piero da Pejaro Proveditor, and which was encamped at Chiari in the Brescian, and both Armies were ordered to begin Hoftilities against the Cæfareans without any Regard or Delay.

In the mean time arrived at Milan Don Don Ugo treats with Ugo di Moncada, who, tho' the Signing of the Duke the League was as yet a Secret to the Vice- of Milan. roy and himself, yet, doubting from the Answers of the King, that Affairs could not be accommodated to Cæsar's Satisfaction, had purfued his Journey to Italy, where, taking with him into the Castle the Protonotary Caracciolo, he gave ample Affurances to the Duke of Cæfar's Benignity, and endeavoured to induce him to fubmit himself to his Will. But the Duke anfwering that he had been necessitated by the Injuries which he had received from his Generals to have recourse to the Affistance of the Pontiff and Venetians, without whole

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A. D. whose Participation it was not in his Power to dispose of himself, Don Ugo gave him Hopes that it was Cafar's Intention that the Matters with which he was accused should be examined in a summary Manner by the Protonotary Caracciolo, a Prelate in whom he could intirely confide, pretending that this was done rather for restoring him the State with the greater Prefervation of Cæsar's Credit, than for any other Reason, and that, as soon as he had conferred with the Pontiff, he would dispatch these Affairs. He did not however confent that the Siege should first be raised, nor promise to make no Innovation, as the Duke infifted. It is believed, and fo it was afterwards reported, that the Powers given by Cafar to Don Ugo were very ample, not only of agreeing with the Pontiff, by the Restitution of the Dutchy of Milan, but also with the Duke, on his giving Security that, after he was restored to his State, he would do no Injury to Cafar's Interest; but that this Commission was with a Limitation to what should be suggested by the Times and Necessities, and that Don Ugo, considering

and that to make an Agreement with the Duke would be of no Benefit to Cæsar's Affairs, but as it should be a Means of establishing an Agreement with the Pontiff and Venetians, judged it of no Use to make an Accommodation with him alone.

AFTER this Don Ugo and the Protonotary caufed Morone, who was imprifoned in the Castle of Trezzo, to be conducted to Moncia, rather with a Design that the Protonotary should get Information from him, as he was to be Judge of the Caufe, than for any other Reason. From Milan Don Ugo, after this, fet out for Rome, having first written to Venice, requesting the Senate to fend sufficient Authority to their Ambassadors at Rome to enable him to debate on the prefent Occurrences. Being arrived in that City he presented himself, together with the Duke of Seffa, before the Pontiff, and declared to him, in haughty Expressions, that it was in his Power to accept of Peace or War; for the Cæfar, from his good Difposition, was rather inclined to Peace,

he

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A. D. he was however, in his Mind and Forces, prepared for either. To this the Pope having answered in general Terms, that he was forry that the ill Usage of Casar's Ministers, and the Slowness of Don Ugo's Coming had been the Cause that, whereas before he was his own Master, he now was under Obligation to others, they returned the next Day, and declared to him that it was Cæsar's Intention to leave the Dutchy of Milan in the free Possession of Francesco Sforza, provided the Castle was deposited in the Hands of the Protonotary Caracciolo, till fuch Time as, for the Honour of Cafar, the Cause should be examined, not to the Bottom, and fubstantially, but in Appearance, and by way of Ceremony; and that he was willing to terminate the Differences with the Venetians by a fair and reasonable Method, and to remove the Army out of Lombardy, with the Payment formerly debated, for which Compliances he required nothing of him in Exchange, but only that he would not intermeddle in Affairs between him and the King of France.

Cæfar's Proposals to the Pope.

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To this Proposal the Pope answered, A. D. That he believed it was known to all the World how much he had always defired Pope's to live in Friendship with Cæsar, and that he had never demanded greater Matters of him than those which he himself voluntarily offered, which, as he was more concerned for the common Good than for his own Interest, could not be better calculated for his Satisfaction; that he now continued in the same Sentiments, tho' he had met with many Reasons to alter them; and yet that he heard at prefent with greater Concern of Mind that his Demands might be granted, than he had felt when they were refused, because it was no longer in his Power, as it had been before, to accept of them, which did not proceed from his Fault, but from Cæsar's delaying so long to come to a Resolution. This Delay had been the Cause that, having no Hopes ever given him of fecuring the common Affairs of Italy, and in the mean time feeing the Castle of Milan more and more distressed, he had been necessitated, for his own Safety, and that of others, to confederate WOL. IX. with

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A. D. with the King of France, without whose Participation, as he was not willing to be deficient in observing his Engagements, it was not in his Power to come to any farther Determination. In this Answer, notwithstanding many Replies to the contrary, the Pontiff constantly persevering, Don Ugo departed from Rome in Discontent, as well as the Imperial Generals, on finding all Hopes of a Peace vanished, and all Things tending to a manifest Rupture, which, on account of the Power of the League, and the diforderly Condition of their own Affairs, they imagined would be very difficult for them to support.

> AT this Time the Pope's Lieutenant intercepted Letters from Antonio da Leva, to the Duke of Seffa, informing him of the evil Disposition of the People of Milan, and that there was no other Remedy for their Affairs but the Grace of God; and also Letters from him and from the Marquis del Guafto to Don Ugo, after his Departure from Milan, in which they expressed their Sollicitude concerning the Treaty of Agreement, and were instant

with him to let them know speedily what A. D. Progress he had made in it, putting him in Mind of their Danger, and that of Cæsar's Army. But there was not fo much Confidence in the Minds of those who had the Management of the Forces of the League as there was Fear in the Imperial Generals. For the Duke of Urbino, who must Duke of be confidered as having, in effect, the fole General Direction of the Armies, on account of of the his Title of Captain General of the Ve-the netian Troops, and because he had not League. his Equal in Dominion, Authority, and Reputation, having a higher Opinion, perhaps, than was just of the Valour of the Spanish and German Troops, and distrusting beyond measure the Italian Soldiery, had firmly resolved not to pass rhe River Adda, before he had in his Army at least Five Thousand Swifs; nay, what is more, being apprehensive that, if he should pass the River Oglio with only the Venetian Forces, the Imperialifts would cross the Adda, and march to attack him, he infifted that the Ecclefiastic Army, which was now at Piacenza, should pass the Po, below Cremona, and march to join

Head.

with

A. D. with the Venetians; and then with these Forces he intended to approach the Adda, and strongly intrench himself on the Banks of that River, where he might fecurely wait the Coming of the Swifs, which, befides their natural Slowness, had met with many Difficulties, the Care of conducting them having been imprudently committed to the Governor of Mus, and the Bishop of Lodi. For both the Vanity of the Bishop was very unequal to that Charge, and the Governor was principally intent on imbezzling Part of the Money that was fent to pay the Swifs; and neither of them had Authority enough with that Nation to raise so great a Number of Forces, especially with so small a Quantity of Money, as foon as there would be Occasion for them. This Affair also was much injured by the Emulation that arose between them, being more intent on fatisfying their Ambition and private Interest than on any Thing elfe. The Difficulty was also in some measure increased by the Agents of the King of France residing in Swifferland, for they had no Intimation of the Sentiments of the King on that divivi. Head,

Head, nor wherher it were contrary or A. D. conformable to his Intentions, fince not Notice had been given to the King of this Step; which Neglect was not owing to Inadvertency but Premeditation, in conformity to fuch Counfels as, having an Appearance of much Wisdom, frequently prove too refined; for Alberto Pio, the King's Ambassador residing at the Court of Rome, had intimated that, if the King should know, before the Conclusion of the League, that Orders were given to take into Pay a Body of Swifs, it was to be feared he would be the the more dilatory in concluding it, fince he would then take it for an absolute Certainty that the Pontiff and Venetians had begun the War against Cæsar without him. The Coming of the Swiss being then retarded, the principal and most effectual Means for fuccouring the Castle of Milan was also retarded, tho' the Bishop and the Governor gave every Day certain and instant Hopes of their very speedy Arrival.

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Bur the Cafarean Generals, after they faw Preparations openly made for a War, that they might not have to deal with Enemies within and without at once, refolved to secure tnemselves of the People of Milan, who, growing every Day more infolent, not only refused them all the Provisions which they demanded, but if any Soldier was found in the City separated from the rest he was sure of having his Throat cut by the Milanese. Taking therefore Occasion from the Diforders which were committed in all Parts of the City, they demanded that some of the Captains of the People should depart out of Milan; this occasioning a Tumult, some Spaniards who were walking about the Town were murdered by certain of the Populace. On this Antonio da Leva and the Marquis, having caused the Troops to approach Milan with all Silence, and proteffed they were no longer obliged by the Agreements made some Days past, on the Seventeenth of June, to give Beginning to the Tumult, caused one of the common People, who had not paid them Reverence,

to be killed in their Presence, and after A. D. him three others, and then, marching out of their Quarters with a Battalion of German Foot, gave occasion to the People to fly to Arms; and tho' in the Beginning the Old Court, and the Belfry of the Bishopric, where was posted a Guard of Italian Foot, were forced by the Populace, yet at last fighting without Order, and, according to the Manner of an unexperienced Rabble, more with Shouts than Arms, and being greatly annoyed by fome Harquebusiers, posted on Eminences, which the Spaniards had before feized, many of them were wounded and killed; fo that the Diforders and Terror continually increasing, and the German Foot having begun to fet Fire to the neighbouring Houses, and the Spanish Infantry called by the Generals already approaching the City, the People, apprehensive of utter Ruin, agreed that their Captains, and many others of the Populace who confented to it, should leave the Town, and that the Multitude should lay down their Arms, fubmitting themselves to the Obedience of the Generals, who hastened to appease

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Infurrection in Milan appealed.

appease the Tumult, with these Conditions, before the Spanish Foot should come within the Walls, doubting that, if they entered while the Parties were in Arms. it would not be in their Power to restrain the Violence of the Soldiers from proceeding to fuch a Height as to put the Town to the Sack, which they could by no means approve, as well out of Fear that the Army, enriched by fo vast a Prev, would either be diffolved, or confiderably diminished, as because, considering the Want of Money, and other Difficulties which they might encounter in the Course of the War, they judged that it was more for their Advantage to preserve that City, that it might be in a Condition to maintain the Army for a long Time; if needful, within its Walls, than to waste and confume all its Strength and Spirits in a Day.

It appeared then that the Affairs of the League did not proceed in fo prosperous a Course as they had at first promised themselves, so many Difficulties concurring to retard the Arrival of the Swiss, and the Foundation

Foundation of their Expectations from the A. D. People of Milan proving defective. But, 1526. a new Event, which happened unexpectedly, restored in a great measure the Reputation of the Alliance, and rendered the Way to Victory easier and plainer than it was before. Under fuch miserable Difcontent, or rather extreme Despair, of the Dutchy of Milan, there had been held, for feveral Months past, by Contrivance of various Persons, several Plots for Innovations, in almost every City of that State. But others proving abortive one took effect, which was held by the Duke of Urbino and the Venetian Proveditor in the City of Lodi, with Lodovico Vistarino, a Gentleman of that Place; who, either out of Concern for the Family of the Sforzas, to whom he had been an antient Servant, or moved with Compassion for his native Place, which was treated by Fabritio Maramaus, Colonel of a Regiment of Fifteen Hundred Neapolitan Foot, with the same Roughness that Milan was treated by the Spaniards and Germans, resolved to introduce into the City the Venetian Troops, tho' he was in the

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A. D. the Pay of the Imperialists. But he himself protested, and the Duke of Urbino confirmed it, that he had before demanded and obtained a Discharge, under a Pretence that he was no longer able to maintain the Men under his Command without Money. The Order of conducting the Affair was thus fettled: On the Night of the 24th of June, Malatesta Baglione, with Three or Four Thousand Venetian Foot, was, as foon as it grew dark, to approach the Walls at the Side of a certain Bastion, where he was to be let into the City by Vistarino; who, being accompanied by two others, approached that Baftion, which was guarded by fix Foot Soldiers, as with an Intent to review them. and, being followed by fome others whom he had concealed in certain neighbouring Houses, mounted the Bastion, and began the Vene- to combat with the Guard. For, tho' he had before given the Word according to military Custom, the Centinels on Suspicion were come to Blows with him, and others running in at the Noise the Bastion was in Danger of being retaken, for the

Fight began to grow hot, and Lodovico

Lodi furprifed by tians.

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was wounded in the Contest. But when A. D. he was now reduced to the last Necessity, Malatesta arrived with his Troops, which ascended the same Bastion, by the Help of Scaling-ladders, and entered the Town, whence Fabritio Maramaus, who, on hearing the Noise, was advancing towards, the Walls with Part of his Troops, was forced to retire into the Castle. Town was mastered, and most Part of the Foot, which had their Quarters scattered over the City, were disarmed and made Prisoners. Not long after arrived in the Place part of the Troops of the Duke of Urbino, who having, in order to approach nearer, marched the Day before, and encamped at Orago, on the River Oglio, which he paffed the next Night, over a Bridge made in Haste, as soon as he was informed of Malatesta's Success, passed the Adda on a like Bridge, and having placed a stronger Garrison in Lodi, to defend it against any Succours that might attempt to enter it through the Castle, immediately returned to the Army. But when the News reached Milan, the Marquis del Guafto, with some Light Horse, and Three Thousand

A. D. Thousand Spanish Foot, among whom was Giovanni d' Urbino, hastened to Lodi without Delay, and having without Obstacle introduced his Foot through the Gate of Succours into the Castle, which is situated in fuch a manner that it may be entered by a natural covered Way, without Danger of Battery or Hindrance from the Flanks of the City, from the Castle he immediately entered the City, and advanced as far as the Market-place, where the Troops that came with Malatesta, and the Reinforcement that arrived afterwards, were drawn up in Order, having posted Guards in many of the Houses, and along the Street that reaches to the Gate by which they had entered, in order to fecure their Retreat from the Place if they should be overpowered by the Imperialists. The Fight was very brifk in the Beginning, and many were of Opinion that if the Spaniards had perfifted in fighting they would have recovered Lodi, for the Venetian Soldiers were known to be sufficiently tired. But the Marquis, either out of Distrust because he had found the Enemy more numerous than he had at first believed,

lieved, or imagining that the Venetian Army was near at hand, foon quitted the Field, and leaving a Garrison in the Castle retired to Milan. The Duke of Urbino arrived afterwards, and, boasting that he had passed an Army over two great Rivers, upon Bridges, without stopping, applied himself to secure the Victory, by increafing the Number of Troops in the Place, for making the better Resistance against the Enemy if they should return, and ordering the Cannon to be planted about the Castle. But the Garrison of that Fortress expecting no Relief, and because it was very difficult to defend the Place, which, from its fmall Circuit, was capable but of few Troops, the Night following abandoned it, being received and brought off by a Body of Horse sent from Milan for that Purpose. To solo V nom

THE Conquest of Lodi was of very great Conveniency, and of no less Reputation to the Affairs of the League, for the City was well fortified, and was one of those which the Imperialists had already defigned to defend to the last Extremity. dangèrous.

infocceding forward with Expedicion,

From

A. D. From Lodi there is an open Road, without any Hindrance, to the Gates of Milan, and to Pavia; for these three Cities, being fituated as in a Triangle, are twenty Miles afunder from each other, for which Reason the Imperialists ordered Fifteen Hundred German Foot from Milan to Pavia. Besides, the Passage of the Adda, which was at first thought an Enterprise of some Difficulty, being gained, all Obstructions to the Conjunction of the Armies were removed, and it was rendered impracticable to fuccour, in case of an Attack, Cremona, in which City was General Curradino with Fifteen Hundred German Foot, and the Enemy was deprived of a very convenient Place for molesting the State of the Church, and that of the Venetians. Hence it was the common Voice of all the Army that, by proceeding forwards with Expedition, the Imperialists would be reduced to very great Perplexity and Confusion. But different were the Sentiments of the Duke of Urbino, who was absolutely of Opinion that to approach Milan without a large Body of Swiss would be a very dangerous

dangerous Step. But as he was unwil- A. D. ling to make a full Discovery of this his Judgment to others, he refolved, by flow Marches, and by resting at least a Day in every Encampment, to give Time for the Coming of the Swifs, hoping that they must needs arrive in the Army in a very few, Days, and difregarding whatever was proposed to be done in case they should not come, tho' from the Progress of that Affair hitherto there was Reason to doubt it. Wherefore the Ecclefiastic Army, the Day after the Acquisition of Lodi, being come to an Encampment at San Martino, three Miles from Lodi, it was concluded in a Common Council that the Ecclefiastics and Venetians, after resting one Day more in their respective Camps, should march the next Day and encamp at Old Lodi, five Miles from Lodi, where they fay Lodi was built by Pompey the Great, and three Miles from the high Road to Pavia, on a Road that leads both to Milan and Pavia, in order to keep the Imperial Generals in the greater Suspense. That Day

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A. D. Day the Ecclesiastic and Venetian Armies joined as they marched in the Field, being almost equal in Infantry, which together amounted to little less than Twenty Thousand Foot; but the Venetians had the Superiority in the Number of Men at Arms, and of Light Horse, with which the Ecclefiastics were continually providing themselves, and much more in the Quantities of Artillery, Ammunition, and all Necessaries. At Old Lodi, where they rested the next Day, changing their Minds, they resolved for the future to march on the high Road, for avoiding the Country, which out of the Road is too difficult on account of the Hedges and Ditches, and because it was thought easier to succour the Castle by that Way, which turns towards the Gate of Como, than by the Way of Landriano, which brings you to the Gate of Vercelli, whither it was more difficult to conduct the Army, from the Nature of the Country; and also, because by marching on that Side their Convoys of Provifions would be more fecure, and it bluow als in this greater Sulpenie. That Day

# THE WARS IN ITALY. 65 would be easier for them to receive the A. D. Swiss, because they were more at their Backs.

WITH this Resolution the united Army, on the last Day of June, advanced to Marignano, where, in confulting what was to be done, the Duke of Urbino was for expecting the Coming of the Swifs, of which there was the same Uncertainty, and perhaps greater than at first, it appearing to him very dangerous to approach Milan with raw Troops, levied in Haste, without the Support of those firm and well-disciplined Battalions, tho' there were in that City but few Horse, besides Three Thousand German and Five or Six Thoufand Spanish Foot, and these without Money, and but flenderly provided with Victuals. But this Opinion was contrary to that of many other Officers, who judged that by proceeding in good Order, and always reconnoitring the Place of Encampment the Day before, Milan might be approached with Safety, fince the Country is every where so difficult as to render it always easy to chuse a very strong Situa-VOL. IX. ation

1526. Reasons against Proceedings.

A. D. tion for a Camp, and it did not appear to them probable that the Cafarean Armywould march out and attack them in the their flow open Field, because it being necessary for them to keep the Castle blockaded, and inconfistent with their Safety, on account of their Jealoufy of the People, to leave the City of Milan wholly without Troops, the Number they could spare would be too fmall to attack fo great an Army, which, tho' it were newly collected, abounded however in Soldiers experienced in War, and in Officers of the best Reputation in Italy. And they could not only approach Milan without Danger, but also with Hopes of Victory; for the Suburbs of Milan not being fortified, but even, for want of Repairs, open in some Parts, it was not to be supposed that the Imperialists would stand to defend so great a Circuit. That this was their Refolution appeared by manifest Indications, fince they gave but little Attention to the Reparation of the Suburbs, but all Hands were at Work in fortifying the City; and if they abandoned the Suburbs, in which the Army might immediately take up its Quarters, it did

not feem possible for the City to make a A. D. long Defence, not only because the Army was without Money, and had but a small Stock of Provisions, but because it had been always the Opinion of Prospero Colonna, and many other Generals, that it was very difficult to defend Milan against an Enemy who should be in Possession of the Suburbs, as well because the City is very weak in Walls, which in many Places are filled up with private Houses, as because the Suburbs have an Advantage over the City; and to these Reasons was

This and the other Resolutions depended principally on the Duke of Urbino; for the he was only General of the Venetians, the Ecclesiastics, to avoid Disputes, and because there was nothing to be done without it, had resolved to receive his Directions as Captain General. But the Duke, the he was not moved by these Reasons to advance forward, nor by the most earnest Instances which, by Order of their Superiors, were made to him by E. 2

added, that they had the Castle at their

Devotion.

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A. D. the Pope's Lieutenant, and the Venetian Proveditor, to whose Opinion many others also of the General Officers adhered, bethought himself however that a long Continuance in that Place, without a greater Certainty of the Coming of the Swifs, might turn to his great Scandal and Difgrace; and therefore, after the Army had halted one Day at Marignano, on the third of July it proceeded to San Donato five Miles distant from Milan, the Duke having resolved to remove forwards more out of Complaifance with the Defires and Opinions of others than according to his own Determination, with a Defign however always to interpose a Day between one Encampment and the other, to give the more

> Time for the Arrival of the Swifs, a Thoufand of whom at length having descended into the Bergamese took their Way to the Army, and Advices, as usual, were continually received of the Coming of the reft. On the Fifth of July then the Army advanced, and paffing San Martino, encamped Three Miles from Milan, on the right Hand of the Road, in a strong and very fecure Post, where the same Day they had

Motions of the confederate Army.

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a small Skirmish with some Spanish Harquebusiers who had fortified themselves in a House, and the Day following, continuing in the same Camp, they had another fuch Skirmish, and were favoured with the Arrival of Five Hundred Swiss commanded by Cafar Gallo. Here a Council was held on the Manner of proceeding forwards; and the it had been their first Intention to march directly to the Relief of the Castle of Milan, where the Entrenchment that inclosed it on the outside was not so strong but that there were Hopes of furmounting it, yet the Duke of Urbino was of Opinion that the Armies should take the direct Way to the Suburbs of Milan; and his Council was at last approved by all therest. For when Councils were held he propofed the Subject, and, without expecting an Answer from others, declared his Opinion, or at least in proposing made Use of such Terms as plainly discovered his Sentiments, in such a manner that the other Generals would not take upon them to contradict him. The Duke alledged that an Attempt to lead the Army, out of the High Road, to the Relief of the Castle, would require a E 3

long

# THE HISTORY OF

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A. D. long Time because of the Levels which it was necessary to make on account of the Difficulty of the Country, and would be attended with Danger of some Disorder, because their Flank would be exposed too near the Enemies, who also would have the Means given them of making a more powerful Refistance by uniting all their Forces on the Side of the Castle, whereas otherwise they would be necessitated to stand divided in order to resist the Enemy. and not to abandon the Guard of the Caftle; and by leading the Forces to the Roman Gate the Generals of the League would have it always in their Power to turn themfelves with Ease, as from Day to Day it should appear reasonable, to what Quarter they pleased. Pursuant to this Counsel it was resolved that on the Seventh Day the Armies should encamp at Bufaletta and Pillastrelli, Country Seats standing on the high Road half a Mile distant from Milan, within Cannon Shot, with an Intention from those Quarters to observe and take fuch Measures as should appear to be good and reasonable from Opportunities and the Motions of the Enemies; who, in the Opinion loung

Opinion of many, would, as foon as they A. D. faw the Armies encamped fo near them, not think of putting themselves on the Defence, especially by Night, of the Suburbs, because in several Places the Ditches were filled, and the Ramparts levelled, and on some Quarters so open that they could hardly be defended.

But the Night before the Army was to proceed forwards the Duke of Bourbon, Duke of Bourbon and Who a few Days before was arrived at Ge-arrives at noa with Six Gallies, and Bills of Exchange Milan. for One Hundred Thousand Ducats, entered with Eight Hundred Spaniards on Foot, whom he had brought with him, into Milan, to the great Satisfaction of the Marquis del Guasto, and Antonio da Leva, who had earnestly sollicited his Coming. His Arrival put new Spirits in the Soldiers, and by the same might be comprehended the affected Negligence, and cold Disposition of the King of France with respect to the War \*. For the Pontiff having in the Ea

<sup>\*</sup> Though the King of France hated Cafar's Greatness, he was willing that the War should be prolonged, in Hopes by that Means to facilitate the Releasement of his Children. Bugatto.

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Beginning, when he took into his Pay Andrea Doria, confulted with him about the Forces and Provisions required for making an Attempt upon the Genoele Establishment, that Admiral gave him his Opinion that it was a very eafy Enterprise, if undertaken at the Time that the War should commence in the Dutchy of Milan, and if his own Eight Gallies were joined to those that the King of France had in the Port of Marseilles, or if at least the Arrival of 'Bourbon's Gallies were prevented. For as, in fuch a Case, he would remain Lord of the Sea with his Eight Gallies, the City of Genoa could not subsist many Days under a Blockade by Sea, excluded from all Commerce, Exercises, and Provisions supplied by the Benefit of the Waters. And tho' the King had promifed to prevent the Coming of the Duke of Bourbon, his Word was of no Signification, for his Fleet was not in Order, and the Captains of his Gallies, partly for Want of Money, partly out of Negligence, and perhaps out of Defign, had their Payments delayed, as it also happened afterwards to the Men at Arms.

But the Arrival of the Duke of Bourbon A. D. being unknown to those without the City, the Resolution of advancing forwards with the Army was frustrated by the Duke of Urbino, either on account of some Advices received, as it is believed, from Milan, Vain Conor of Intelligence by some Spy; whence, sidence of getting free of that Diffidence with which of Urbino. he had been hitherto possessed, he assured the Pontiff's Lieutenant, in the Presence of the Venetian Proveditor, that he held it for certain that the next Day would turn out most happily; for if the Enemies came out to fight, which he did not believe they would venture to do, they would infallibly be overcome; but if they came not forth, he was confident that they would either abandon the City of Milan, and retire to Pavia, or at least, leaving the Defence of the Suburbs, would reduce all their Strength within the City, which after the Lofs of the Suburbs they could by no means defend; and any one of these Three Events was sufficient to secure the Success of the War.

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THE next Day therefore, which was the Seventh of July, omitting the Encampment which they had defigned the Day before, in Hopes of gaining the Suburbs without Dispute, and aspiring after the Glory of having taken them by Affault on their March, a Company of Harquebufiers by his Order pushed forward to the Roman Gate, and to the Gate of Tofa, where tho' they had received Advices for fome Days before, and on that fame Day, that the Spaniards intended to abandon those Places, they found them posted in those Parts of the Suburbs, not with a Defign, as it was faid, of making a continued Resistance, but in order to make their Retreat into Milan rather like military Men, who had shown their Faces to the Enemy, and were unwilling that they should find the Suburbs abandoned out of Cowardice. By fuch Resistance they did not only more effectually maintain the Reputation of their Army, especially as it was always in their Power to retire into the City without Diforder, but also some Accident might possibly happen, which might encourage them to perfift in the Defence of the

Army
of the
League
before
Milan.

#### THE WARS IN ITALY.

the Suburbs; which was a Point of very great Moment, fince a Retreat into the City was rather a Measure to be taken out of Necessity, than from a spontaneous Choice, as well for other Reasons as because, by reducing the Troops within so narrow a Compass, it would be easy for the Italians to prevent the Entrance of Provifions into Milan, without which it was impossible for the Troops within the Walls to fublist for any Length of Time, because new Corn had not yet been brought to Market. The Harquebusiers then prefenting themselves at the Two Gates, where the Spaniards, befides defending themselves, were incessantly at Work in fortifying themselves, the Duke, who had met with Relistance contrary to Expectation, caufed Three Cannon to be brought before the Roman Gate within Bowshot; which being planted, he began briskly to batter the Gate, and endeavoured to dismount a Falconet. This done, he caused a good Number of his Men at Arms to dismount in order to give the Assault, and directed Scaling-Ladders to be brought. He did not however continue in his Resolution

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A. D. lution to storm the Place, and so the Action ended in some slight Skirmishing and Play of the Small Arms on each Side, in whichthose within the Ramparts had a great Advantage in Respect of Situation, and killed of those that were without about Forty Foot, and wounded many. The Gate in the mean time had received many Shot, but with inconsiderable Damage, because the Cannon was at too great a Distance; but the Duke faying it was time to pitch the Camp, did not give the Affault, and fo the Army returned to the same Place. tho' in some Confusion on account of the Shortness of Time. He left a good Guard on the Three Pieces of Cannon, and the rest of the Camp extended almost all on the right Hand of the Road, every one promising himself the Victory: For by a Multitude of Advices, and by the Report of some Prisoners taken by Giovanni di Naldo, who was in the Pay of the Venetians, they were credibly informed that the Imperialists had packed up great Part of their Baggage, and were in Motion, in order for their Departure rather than otherwise; and the same Evening seasonably arriv-

# THE WARS IN ITALY. ed in the Camp Six Cannon of the Vene-

tians.

A. D. 1526.

Bur foon after not only the Hopes but the whole State of Affairs was altered; for about the Beginning of the Night some Spanish Foot having made a Sally in order to attack the Artillery were repulfed by the Italian Foot appointed to guard it; but the Duke of Urbino would have it that the Italians had been put into Disorder, and after a few Hours of the Night had paffed, finding himself deceived in his Hopes, and that Refistance had been made at the Gates and Ramparts of the Suburbs, and, while he was confidering, the Fear which he had at first conceived of the Enemy's Infantry returning upon him, he took a precipitous Resolution to decamp with the Army, and immediately began to put it in Execution, by first ordering the Artillery and Ammunition to be fent away, and commanding the Venetian Troops to put themselves in Duke of Readiness for a March, and sent Notice, by Urbino decamps the Proveditor, to the Lieutenant, and Ec-from Miclesiastic Generals of his Resolution, de-lan in a Hurry. firing they would concur in the same with-

A. D. out Delay. At this Meffage, not only fudden, but contrary to every one's Expectation, being confounded, and in a manner astonished, they went to wait upon him, that they might inform themselves more

fons.

particularly of his Defigns, and try to in-His Rea. duce him not to depart. He declared to them, in very positive and resolute Terms, that he reflected with Grief that, contrary to his own Opinion, and meerly for the Satisfaction of others, he had approached fo near Milan; but that it had more of Prudence to correct an Error when committed, than obstinately to perfist in it. He knew, he faid, that because the Army yesterday had not regularly encamped on account of the Shortness of Time, and by the Cowardice of the Italian Infanty, lo visibly displayed the same Evening in the Attack of the Artillery, that the Stay of the Army in that Place till next Week would prove not only the Ruin of the Enterprise, but of the whole State of the League; for he was so certain that they would be defeated, that, not having the least Doubt of it, he would not dispute it with any one, fince the Imperialists had the fame

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fame Evening planted a Saker between the Roman Gate and the Gate of Tofa, which took the very dangerous Quarter of the Venetian Infantry in Flank, and more would be planted that same Night; and as foon as it was Day, the Alarm being given, and the Army necessitated to put themselves in Order, the Cannon from the Place would take them in Flank, and put them in fuch Diforder, that the Enemy fallying forth, and attacking them in this fhatteredCondition would break them with the greatest Ease. He was forry, he told them, that the Shortness of Time, and the Encumbrances of his Army with a much greater Quantity of Artillery and Ammunition than was with the EcclefiaflicForces had constrained him to begin the Decampment before he had communicated it to them; but that in Resolutions taken out of Necessity Excuses are superfluous: That he had made a greater Experiment than had ever been made by any General, having ventured to march directly \* to give

<sup>\*</sup> Essendoli mosso di Cammino a dare l'Assalto, &c. Having put himself off his March on attacking, &c. where di Cammino imports without sitting down before the Place, and opening the Trenches.

1526.

A. D. an Affault to Milan; and that now it was necessary to use Prudence, and not to despair of the Success of the Enterprise on account of the Retreat: That Prospero Colonna had raifed the Siege of Parma when half taken, and perhaps for less just Reasons, and yet not long afterwards had gloriously acquired the whole Dutchy of Milan. He advised the Ecclesiastics to follow his Resolution, and decamp without Delay, because (repeating what he had faid before) if the Sun found them in their present Quarters they would be routed and utterly ruined without Remedy, and that there was no Way to avoid it but by returning to the Camp at San Martino.

Guicciarfwer to the Duke's Reasons

THE Lieutenantanswered, that, tho'every dini's An. one believed that his Resolutions were taken with the highest Prudence, yet not one of those Officers knew any Cause that should precipitate him to decamp in fuch a Hurry. He represented to him what the Duke of Milan would do, on feeing his Retreat. and despairing of Succours; how greatly itmust discourage the Pontiff and the Venetians, and the Impressions which, by the Decline of Enterprises, especially in the

Beginning,

Beginning, are usually made on the Minds A. D. of Princes: That if the disorderly Manner 1526. of encamping had been the Cause of so much Danger, it might be eafily remedied, without depriving that Army of fo great a Measure of Reputation, by encamping it anew in better Order, and retiring with it fo far as should be sufficient to secure it from the Enemy's Cannon. The Duke confirmed anew his first Con-Dukeper-fists in his clusion, adding, that he could not by the Refoluti-Rules of War take any other Resolution; ons. that he would take the Blame upon himfelf, and that all the World should know that he had been the Author of it; that it was not proper to waste any more Time in talking to no Purpose, fince it was neceffary to be gone from thence, before the Night was past. With this Conclusion every one returned to his Quarters, and applied himself to put himself in Readiness to hasten and press the March of the Troops, of which those who were foremost broke up in fuch Terror, that going off with a Show much like that of Men who had been routed, Multitudes of the Venetian Horse and Foot went off in a straggling Manner, VOL. IX. fome

reached Lodi, and the Artillery of the Venetians passed beyond Marignano, but being recalled, it rested in that Place. The rest of the Troops, and especially the Rear-Guard, decamped in good Order; and Giovanni de' Medici, who was with the Ecclesiastic Foot in the very Rear of the Army, would not move till it was broad Day, as not thinking it proper to carry off with him, instead of an expected Victory, the Disgrace of running away by Night.

Censured. That this Step had not been necessary was demonstrated by Experience, for none of the Imperialists sallied out to attack the Rear of the Army, but, on the contrary, having, as soon as it was Day, observed so tumultuous a Decampment, were struck with the highest Admiration, not knowing how to guess at the Cause. And the Shame of this Retreat was yet the more increased, because the Duke had declared that it was his Will that the Troops should halt at San Martino, and yet gave private Orders to the Venetian Camp-Masters to conduct their Men to Marignano, induced either by Fear that the Enemy would

come

Camp, or, at least, as he himself confesfed afterwards, affuring himfelf that the Caftle of Milan, on feeing the Retreat of the Succours which had appeared for its Relief, which, above all Things, strikes a Terror into such as are besieged, would not delay to furrender, in which Case he would not have ventured to continue at San Martino, he judged it less dishonourable to retire all at once, than to make two Retreats in fo short a Time; and therefore the Artillery, Baggage, and foremost Squadrons of the Venetian Army marched on towards Marignano, without halting at San Martino. When the Lieutenant defired to know of the Duke the Reason of this Proceeding, he answered that it was not because he made any Difference between this and the other Place in point of Security, for he thought himself as safe from the Enemy in the Camp at San Martino as in that of Marignano; but because the Troops, being fatigued with the Actions of the preceding Days, might with more Conveniency repose, and put themfelves in Order without receiving any Moragorova I awai F. ages lestation

A. D. lestation from the Enemy at Marignano. And when it was replied that in this equal Security of both Quarters the Retreat of the Army to Marignano would in a greater measure deprive the Besieged in the Castle of Milan of Hopes of Relief than a Halt at San Martino, he answered in high Words that, while he held in his Hand the Staff of Command over the Venetians, he would never fuffer any Encroachments upon his Authority, but was refolved to march and encamp at Marignano; fo that both Armies, with fufficient Dishonour, and with very loud Clamours of all the Soldiers, fince he might well fay, contrary to the Words of Cafar, VENI, VIDI, FUGI +, were conducted to Marignano. Here the Duke resolved to settle his Quarters till there should arrive in the Camp not only the Number of Five Thousand Swifs, which was the utmost that was promised by the Governor of Mus, and by the Bishop of Lodi, who arrived with Five Hundred at the very Time when the Camp broke up, but also as many more as should make the whole

<sup>+</sup> I came, I fanu, I ran away; contrary to that of Cafar, Veni, Vidi, Vici, I came, I faw, I overcame.

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whole Number Twelve Thousand; because giving the Castle of Milan for lost, he was of Opinion that it was impracticable to reduce the City by Force, or to a Necessity of surrendering for Want of Necessaries, without two Armies, each of them sufficient to resist the whole united Force of the Enemy.

THUS did the Armies retreat from the Walls of Milan on the Eighth of July, to the great Concern of many, not only for the Consequences of the Thing, but alfo at the Inauspiciousness of the Omen; for on the same Day, by common Confent of the Confederates, the League was Various proclaimed at Rome, at Venice, and in Reasons France, with the usual Ceremonies and affigned of the Duke Solemnity: And indeed, in the Opinion Conduct. of most Men, there was so little Occasion for taking so reproachful a Step, that many doubted that the Duke had been induced to it by fome fecret Orders from the Venetian Senate, who, for some Purpose unknown to the rest, was desirous of prolonging the War: Others supposed that the Duke, retaining the Memory of the F 3 Injuries

A. D. Injuries which he had received from Leo, and from the present Pope when he was a Cardinal, and fearing that his Greatness would endanger his own State, was, either out of Hatred or Fear, unwilling that the War should so soon be brought to a happy Conclusion; especially fince he had just Reason to suspect the Mind of the Pontiff, because the Florentines were in Possession of San Leo with the whole Monte Feltro. and he knew that the little furviving Daughter of Lorenzo de Medici always bore the Title of Dutchess of Urbino. However the Lieutenant of the Pontiff was certified by most indubitable Proofs that the Venetians were very much displeased at this Retreat, and that they had never ceased folliciting him to conduct the Army before Milan, in great Hopes of an easy Victory. But considering that it was not probable that the Duke, if he had conceived any Expectations of obtaining Milan, would have been willing to deprive himself of a Glory, as much superior to what had been gained by any other General for a long Time past, as the Fame and Reputation of the Imperial Army exceeded

# THE WARS IN ITALY.

ceeded that of any other Army which had A. D. for many Years before appeared in Italy, the Consequence of which Glory would almost of necessity have been the Security of his State; for the Pontiff, both for the Sake of avoiding fo great a Reproach, and that he might not offer so high an Affront to the Venetians, would not have prefumed to attack him; and also diligently confidering the Proceedings during the whole Time, the Lieutenant thought it more likely, as did many others who were of the fame Sentiments, that the Duke being fallen from the Hopes with which he had Two Days before flattered himself, that the Imperialists must be obliged at least to abandon the Suburbs, returned with fuch Positiveness to his first Opinion, by which he had conceived a greater Dread of their Forces, and a greater Diffrust of the Valour of the Italian Infanty than the other Generals had imagined of them, that Fear, making a deeper Impression on him than on the others, had precipitated him into this Resolution.

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1526.

THIS Retreat greatly disturbed the Pontiff and Venetians, whose Hopes were augmented to fuch a Degree that they expected Day after Day to hear of the Acquisition of Milan, but especially the Pontiff, who was not prepared either with Money, or with Constancy of Mind for a long War, and discovered also many Difficulties arifing in his Way both at Rome and in other Parts of his State. For Three Hundred Spanish Foot, and a Number of Horse who were in Garrison at Carpi began to ravage all the circumjacent Country of the Church, doing vast Damage; they also greatly obstructed the Pasfage of Couriers and Money from Rome and Florence to the Army, which could not be obviated by placing small Garrisons Pope em in the Towns: And the Pontiff having entered into the War with but a small Stock of Money, and being over-burthened with immense Expences, could hardly with his own Money, and what was brought him from Florence on account of the War, make Provisions suffici-

> ent to repress them, especially as he was employed in a new Enterprise in Tuscany,

> > and

and necessitated to stand on his Guard on the Side of Rome. For Don Ugo, and the Duke of Seffa having discharged their Embaffy, Ascanio and Vespasiano Colonna affembling their Men in the Castles of the Colonnas in the Neighbourhood of Rome, made many Feints of raifing fome Difturbances on the Side of that City, and some of their Partisans had already fortified themselves in Alagno, a Town of the Campagna. And the Pontiff was constrained to have a principal Regard to these Motions on account of the Ghibellin Faction at Rome, fince but a few Days before he had discovered some Marks of an evil Disposition in the Roman Commonalty against himself. For when he had hired Andrea Doria, under Pretence of securing the Roman Seas from the Moorish Pirates, which gave no small Ob-Aruction to the Commerce and Plenty of the City, and in order to support the Expence had augmented certain Duties, the Butchers, out of a Reluctancy to pay them, affembled in a tumultuous Manner before the House of the Duke of Sella, who had not as yet left Rome, whither also Huow almost

almost all the Spaniards that lived in Rome ran armed; but this Tumult was easily appealed.

THE Pontiff at this Juncture had flood doubtful and hefitating whether it were best to make an Attempt for changing the Meditates State of Siena, there being a Difagreetempt up ment in the Counfels of those who were on Siena. about him. For fome, putting much Confidence in the great Number of Exiles, and in the Confusion of the Popular Government, would perfuade him that it would be very easy to change it, reprefenting to him the Importance of fecuring himself of that City in the present Situation of Affairs, because, in case of any Misfortunes that might happen, the Receptacle which that Place might afford to the Enemy must be very prejudicial to the Affairs of Rome and of Florence. Others afferted that it was more prudent to bend the whole Force against one Place, with Diffusded little or rather no Diversion at all from the principal Effects, than to be intangled in fo many Enterprises, fince at last they who should remain superior in Lombardy fierring. would would remain superior every where else; and that no such mighty Considence ought to be placed in the Forces or Adherents of the Exiles, the Hopes of which almost constantly proved most fallacious, as to imagine that a Change in that Government should be attempted without powerful Provisions, which it would be difficult for him to make, as well on account of the Greatness of the Expence, as because he had sent all his principal Officers to the Wars in Lombardy.

These Reasons would perhaps have prevailed with him, if those who had the Administration of the public Affairs at Siena had proceeded with that Moderation which, in Matters of small Importance, Inferiors ought to observe towards their Superiors, having more Regard to Necessities than to a just Indignation. But it happened that long before one Giovambattista Palmieri, a Senese, who had Deluded obtained of the Republic the Command into a Plot of One Hundred Foot in Siena, having against Siena given the Pontiss Hopes that as soon as his Troops approached Siena he would introduce

troduce them into the Place through a common Shore, that passed under the Walls close to a Bastion; and the Pontiff having at his Request fent him Two Foot Soldiers, in whom he could confide, one of whom Giovambattista made his Enfign-bearer, the Magistrates of the City, with whose Privity Giovambattista, deluding the Pontiff, carried on the Plot, when they faw a convenient Time, apprehended the Two Soldiers, and after proceeding against them with all the Formalities of Law, and divulging every where the Plot, made them fuffer their due Punishments by a public Execution, in order to difgrace, as much as they could, the Pontiff. Befides, a few Days after they fent some Troops to besiege Giovanni Martinozzi, one of the Exiles, who refided in the Territories of Siena, in his Seat of Montelifre.

THE Pontiff, exasperated at these Proceedings, as intended to affront him, resolved to attempt the Restoration of the Exiles to Siena, with his own Forces and those of the Florentines, but with weaker

weaker Provisions than the Enterprise re- A. D. quired, especially of Foot in Pay. Nor 1526. was the Weakness of the Army compenfated by the Worth and Authority of the Commanders, who, by the Pope's Appointment, were Virginio Orfino Count of Anguillara, Lodovico Count of Pitigliano, and Giovanni Francesco his Son, Gentile Baglione, and Giovanni da Sassatello. The Generals, after mustering their Forces at Centina, marched to the Tavernelle on the Arbia, a River famous in the Days of our Ancestors for the memorable Victory obtained by the Ghibellins over the Guelfs of Florence, and on the Seventeenth of June approached the Walls of Siena, with Nine Pieces of Artillery, Twelve Hundred Horse, and above Eight Thoufand Foot; but almost all of them either Militia from the Dominions of the Church and of the Florentines, or Men fent, without Money, to the Exiles, by their Friends, from the Perugine and other Places: And at the same Time Andrea Doria with the Gallies, and fome Marines attacked the Ports of the Senefe. But when they approached the Walls of Siena no Signal

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A. D. of a Tumult appearing from those within the Place, as the Exiles had expected, it was necessary to fit down with the Army, Siena be-

tieged.

and lay a formal Siege to the City, in which were Sixty Horse, and Three Hundred foreign Foot. Wherefore having approached the Gate of Camollia they began to batter the Wall on that Side. the City was strong by Situation, and had been fortified, and was of fo large a Circuit that the Army did not invest half of it, and the People, whose Hatred of the Pontiff and the Florentines prevailed over their Affection to the Exiles, were dispofed and united for the Prefervation of their present Government. On the contrary, in the Army of the Exiles the Troops that had no Pay were of no Service, the Officers of little Reputation, and there were no fmall Divisions among them; the Exiles difagreed not only in their Resolutions and daily Preparations, but were at Variance also about the Form of the future Government, taking upon them already to share and appoint among themselves without what could only be regarded and fettled by them who were within; fo that after

## THE WARS IN ITALY.

Services the returning to their

after battering the Walls to no Purpose, A. D. and not daring to give the Assault, they began to entertain but little Hopes of Success.

Bur at the fame time the Difficulties of the Confederates increased in Lombardy: For the the Five Thousand Swifs inlisted by the Governor of Mus and the Bishop of Lodi were at length arrived in the Army, yet the Number not appearing sufficient to the Duke of Urbino, those were expected who had been ordered to be demanded of the Cantons in the Name of the King of France, with Hopes that they would be very ready to grant them, if for no other Reason, yet at least for abolishing the Ignominy contracted in the Battle of Pavia, and that from the fame Motive the Troops granted would proceed to the War, especially in fuch great Hopes of Victory, with an uncommon Ardor. But in that Nation, which a few Years before, on account of their Valour, and of the Reputation which they had gained, had a very fair Opportunity offered them of acquiring a very large Empire, there was

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96 A. D no longer that eager Defire of Glory, nor Care of the Interest of the Common-Wealth; but, full of infatiable Covetoufness they proposed for their chief End in military Services the returning to their Houses laden with Money. The Cantons therefore negotiating military Affairs after

degenerate and avaricious

the Manner of Merchants, either publicly taking Occasion from the Necessities of others to increase their own Profit, or full of venal and corrupt Men, granted or refused their Troops as best suited these Ends; and the Officers who were follicited to lift them, that they might have the more advantageous Conditions, the more urgent they faw the Necessities of others, the higher they raised the Price, making most impudent and intolerable Demands. From these Motives the King having requested of the Cantons, according to the Articles of the Confederacy which he had contracted with them, to grant him the Foot which by common Confent were to be paid with the Forty Thousand Ducats which the King of France had disbursed, the Cantons, after long Confultations, anfwered, according to their Custom, that thev

#### THE WARS IN ITALY.

they would not grant them Troops before A. D. 1526. the King had fatisfied them for all that was due to them on account of the Pensions which he was obliged to pay them every Year. This amounting to a large Sum, and being difficult to be paid off in a short Time, the King's Agents were necessitated, after obtaining Leave from the Cantons, tho' not without Difficulty, to inlift private Officers; which Method, besides occasioning a Delay very pernicious in the State in which Affairs were fituated, did not proceed with that Stability and Reputation as if the Troops had been obtained of the Leagues.

On this Occasion the Imperialists receiving in the mean while no Molestation from the Enemy, who remained unactive at Marignano, applied themselves, with the greatest Sollicitude, to fortify Milan, not the City, as they did in the Beginning of the War, but the Ramparts and Bastions of the Suburbs, no longer doubting, from the Courage which they had affumed, and the Diminution of the Adversary's Reputation, of their Ability to defend them.

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A. D. And having disarmed the People of Milan, 1526. and turned the suspected Persons out of the Place, they had not only freed themfelves from their Doubts and Apprehenfions concerning them, but having reduced Miserable them to a most miserable Slavery took no Care to pay the Soldiers, who, being quar-State of Milan. tered about in the Houses of the Milanese, did not only constrain the Masters of the Houses to provide for them every Day plentiful and delicate Food, but also to supply them with Money for all other Uses, which Necessity required, or Appetite craved, not sparing to make use of the most rigorous Means of all Kinds to procure them. These Burdens being insupportable, the Milanese had no other Remedy but to endeavour to fly out of Milan privately, for it was prohibited to do it publicly. Hence for preventing fuch Attempts many of the Soldiers, especially the Spaniards, for the German Foot had more Modesty and Gentleness, kept many of their Landlords tyed in their Houses with their Wives and little Children, most Part of every Age and Sex being also exposed to their Lust. Wherefore all the Shops in

Milan

Milan stood shut up, and every one had taken Care to hide the Goods that were in their Shops, the Riches in their Houses, and the Riches and Ornaments of the Churches, in subterraneous or otherwise remote Places. And yet this was not enough wholly to fecure them; for the Soldiers, under Pretence of fearthing for Arms, went about diligently ranging over all Places in the City, forcing also the Servants in the Houses to make Discoveries of the Effects of their Masters, of which when found they left what Part they pleafed to the right Owners. Hence the Face of that City was miserable beyond Meafure, lamentable was the Aspect of the Inhabitants, reduced to the utmost Sorrow and Fear: a Circumstance sufficient to excite the tenderest Commiseration, and an incredible Example of the Mutability of Fortune to those who but a little before had feen it thronged with Inhabitants, and for the Wealth of the Citizens, for the infinite Number of Shops and Schools\*, for the Abundance and Delicacy of all Things pertaining to human Life, Storb Confirm G.2

A. D. for the superb Grandeur, and most sumptuous Ornaments as well of the Men as of the Women, and from the Nature of its Inhabitants, who are addicted to Feasts and Diversions, not only full of Joy and Gladness, but most flourishing and happy above all other Cities of Italy. And now it appeared defolate as it were without Inhabitants, through the dreadful Havock which the Plague had made in it, and the Absence of those who were fled, or were continually flying; Men and Women were to be feen in negligent and very mean Attire, there was no more any Mark or Sign of Shops and Schools, by whole Means vast Riches were usually conveyed into that City, and the Alacrity and Boldness of the Men were wholly converted into the Height of Grief and Fear. The People however were in some measure comforted by the Arrival of the Duke of Bourbon, perfuading themselves that fince he had brought with him, as it was reported, a Supply of Money, and that, by the Retreat of the Army of the Confederacy. the Necessities and Dangers appeared to be in some measure diminished, those intolerable

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intolerable Grievances, and bitter Imposi- A. D. tions would in part be removed. And they were much more in Hopes that the Duke, on whom it was publicly talked that Cæsar had bestowed the Dutchy of Milan, would, for his own Benefit, and for preserving the Revenues and Estate of the City more entire for his own Interest, take Care that for the future they should not be fo miserably perverted. And indeed this was the only Hope that was left them, for the Ambassadors they had sent to Cæsar were sensible that there was no Remedy to be expected from him, either because he was incapable of making those Provisions which were necessary for their Welfare on account of his being too far off, or because he was much less affected, as Experience had often demonstrated, with Compaffion on the Oppressions and Miseries of the People, than with a Defire to maintain, for the Interest of his State, the Army, which not being paid at due Times, neither he himself nor his Generals could prevail with them to abstain from Insolences and Injuries; and they were the more tolerated because the Officers, both for acquir-

G 3

1526.

A. D. ing the Good-Will of the Soldiers, and because the Exposition of all Things to Rapine was attended with some Emolument to themselves, were not displeased with this military Licentioufness, fince they had fome Excuse for tolerating it from the Failure of Payments. Wherefore all the Citizens of Milan, whose Circumstances distinguished them from the vulgar Sort, affembled in a great Body, and expressing in their Countenance, in their Habit, and in their Gestures, the miserable State of their Country, and of every Individual among themselves, went in a Train, and with Abundance of Tears and Lamentations presented themselves before the Duke of Bourbon, to whom one of them, on whom the rest had laid that Charge, spoke, as I am informed, to the following Pur-

" IF this miserable Country of ours, Specch of 2 Milan / which has always, for very just Reasons, to the Duke of defired to have a Prince of its own, were Bour bon. not at present oppressed with more bitter and more atrocious Calamities than any City in the Memory of Man ever fuffered,

vour .

your Arrival, most illustrious Duke, would A. D. have been welcomed with the most joyful 1526. Acclamations. For what greater Happiness could attend the City of Milan than to receive a Prince given her by Cæfar, of most noble Blood, and whose Wisdom, Justice, Valour, Kindness and Liberality, we ourselves have often on various Occasions experimented? But our most iniquitous Fortune constrains us to lay before you (for we have no Hopes nor Expectations of any Remedy from others) our extreme Miseries; greater without Comparison than those which Cities subdued by the Force of Enemies usually suffer from the Avarice, from the Hatred, from the Cruelty, from the Luft, and from all the other enraged and greedy Passions of the Conquerors. These Things, in themselves intolerable, are rendered yet more grievous by the Reproaches, which at every Turn are cast upon us, as if they were inflicted as a Punishment on the People of Milan for their Disloyalty to Casar, taking it for granted that the Tumults excited fome Days fince had been excited by public Confent, and not, as it is well known, by G 4 fome

1526.

A. D. fome feditious young Men, who rashly stirred up the Rabble, who were secured by their Poverty from lofing any Thing, and are by Nature defirous of Innovations; who readily imbibing vain Errors, and false Persuasions, are pushed forwards by the Direction of him who stirs them up, as the Waves of the Sea are driven by the Blasts of the Winds. It is not our Intention to excuse or alleviate the present Charge by recounting the Number and Quality of the Actions which have been in past Years performed by the People of Milan, from the chief of the Nobility to the lowest of the Commonalty, for the Service of Cæsar; when our City, from its antient Devotion to the Cafarean Name, rose up in Arms, with so much Readiness, against the Governors, and against the Army of the King of France; when after that we fustained, with so much Constancy, two very hard Sieges, voluntarily delivering up our Store of Provisions and our Houses to accommodate the Soldiers, and very readily supplying them when they wanted their Pay from Cæsar; expofing with fo great Alacrity, in the Company

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pany of the Soldiers, our own Persons day A. D. and night on all Guards, to all military Actions, and to all Dangers; when, on the Day of the Fight at Bicocca, the People of Milan with fuch Fierceness defended the Bridge, by which alone the French were in Hopes to penetrate into the Quarters of the Cæsarean Army. At that Time Prospero Colonna, the Marquis of Pescara, with the other Generals, and even Cæsar himfelf, magnified our Loyalty, and praifed up to the Skies our Constancy. Who is a better and more certain Witness of these Facts than yourself, who was present in the War of the Admiral, who faw, commended, and often was even furprifed at fo unshaken a Fidelity, at so ardent a Disposition? But let the Memory of these Things be obliterated, let not Demerits be compensated by Merits, let present Deeds be taken into Confideration. We refuse no Punishment, if there should appear any Mark of Disaffection in the People of Milan towards Cafar. They had certainly a great Love for Francesco Sforza, as a Prince who had been given them by Cæfar, as one whose Father, GrandA. D. Grandfather, and Brother had been our Sovereigns, and for the Expectations which had been formed of his Virtues. For these Reasons we were very much concerned at his being despoiled of his Dominions in fo fudden a Manner, without knowing the Cause, not being certified that he had plotted against Cæsar; on the contrary it was afferted by himfelf, and by many others, that this Treatment proceeded rather from the covetous Ambition of him who at that Time governed the Army, than in Obedience to the Orders of Cæsar; and yet the whole City took an Oath of Fidelity to Cæsar, and fubmitted to the Commands of his Generals. This was the Refolution of the City of Milan, this the public Confent, this the Counsel, and especially of the Nobility. What Reason then, what Justice, what Example will allow that it should be thus cruelly harrassed and ruined for the Misdemeanours of particular Perfons? But did not our Fidelity appear even on the very Days of the Tumults? For in the Infurrection of the Multitude, who but we interposed with Authority and

and Intreaties to make them lay down A. D. their Arms? Who but we, on the last Day of the Tumult, perfuaded the Ringleaders and the feditious young Men to leave the City, and the Multitude to fubmit to the Commands of the Generals? But both the Commemoration of our Works, and our Justification from the Calumnies with which we are afperfed, would perhaps be necessary or convenient, if the Punishments which we suffer were proportionate to the Crimes of which we are accused, or at least if they did not greatly transcend them; but how wide is the Difference! For we may venture to fay, most just Prince, that if the Offences committed by each of us had been more heinous than ever were the Offences and Wickednesses committed by Cities against its Prince, the Pains, or, we may rather fay, the Bitterness of the Punishments which we for no Cause endure, would be greater, without Comparison, than what we should have deserved. We may venture to fay that all the Miferies, all the Cruelties, all the Barbarities (for our Honour's fake not to mention Luft) which

1526.

A. D which were ever in the Memory of Man endured by any City, by any People, by any Congregation of Inhabitants, all these Evils collected together make but a small Part of what we every Day, every Hour, every Moment of Time groan under, spoiled in a Moment of all our Goods, free Men constrained by Torments, by private Prisons, by Chains cast about the Bodies of many of us by the Soldiers, to fupply them continually with Victuals, ot fuch as are in use with military Men. but fit for Princes, to furnish them with all those Things which their craving Appetites, or greedy Covetousness require, and to give them every Day more Money, which being impossible to procure they make use of Menaces, Injuries, Blows, and Wounds, so that there is not one of us who does not take it as a great Favour, and distinguishing Mark of good Fortune, if, leaving all his Substance for a Prey, he can but fave his Person, and escape bare-footed from Milan, on condition of losing for ever his Country and his Goods. Frederic Barbarossa, in the Days of our Great Grandfathers, laid this City

City desolate for a Time, he exercised A. D. his Cruelties upon the Inhabitants, upon the Houses, and upon the Walls; and vet the Miseries of those Times were not to be compared with ours, not only because the Cruelties of an Enemy are more easy to be tolerated, as being more just, than the unjust Cruelty of a Friend, but also because a Day, or Two or Three Days, would fatiate the Anger and Bitterness of the Conquerors, and put an End to the Punishment of the Conquered. But we still continue after more than a Month to struggle under these severe Miseries, our Torments increase every Day, and, like the Damned in another Life, we endure without Hopes of an End, what at first we should have believed impossible for the human Constitution to have supported We are in Hopes however that your Magnanimity, your Clemency will undertake our Succour in fuch Evils, will take Care to provide that a City, become by lawful Right your own, committed to your Trust, shall not, with such great Barbarity, be abandoned to total Destruction; that by winning our Hearts with fo

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A. D. just a Pity, and by deserving to be had in everlasting Remembrance as the Father and Restorer of a City so renowned thro' the World, you will in one Day lay a firmer Foundation for your Government in the Benevolence and Devotion of your Subjects, than other new Princes will be able to lay with Arms and Forces in many Years. To conclude, all that we have farther to fay is, that if, for any Reason whatfoever, your Inclination should not prompt you to deliver us from fuch Evils, if any Impediment lie in the Way that cannot be removed, we befeech you, from the Bottom of our Hearts, that you will cry Havock, and let loofe upon all this People, upon us all, upon every one, upon all Ages and Sexes, the Fury, the Arms, the Swords. and the Artillery of the Army; for it will be an unspeakable Happiness to us to die a violent Death, rather than to linger out a Life under the present Miseries and Punishments. Nor will you be less celebrated for your Pity, if you can find no other Way to relieve us, than they will be infamous for their Barbarity, nor will

it be less joyful to us to finish in this A. D. Manner a most unhappy Life, nor will those who love us rejoice less at our Death, than Fathers and near Kindred are now used to do at the Birth of Children and of other dear Relations."

THIS Speech was followed by the miferable Lamentations and Complaints of all the rest; to whom the Duke answered with Duke's the greatest Mildness, declaring that he Answer. was heartily forry for their unhappy Condition, and was no less desirous to relieve and be beneficial to that City, and to the whole Dutchy of Milan; alledging in Excuse that what had been done was not only contrary to the Will of Cafar, but also to the Intentions of all the Generals: and that Necessity, because they had found no Means for paying the Soldiers, had induced them rather to confent to these Abuses than to abandon Milan, or endanger the Army, and expose all the Dominions of Cæsar in Italy as a Prey to his Enemies: That he had indeed brought with him some Provision of Money, but not suffici-

ent, because the Soldiers were many Payments in Arrears. However if the City of Milan would furnish him with Thirty Thousand Ducats for the Pay of one Month, he would conduct the Army into Quarters out of Milan; declaring that, tho' he knew they had been deceived at other Times with the like Promises, they might very safely depend on his Word and Honour; adding an Imprecation, that his Head might be taken off by the first Ball that should be fired from the Enemy's Cannon, if he should not make good his Promise to them. This Sum, tho' very confiderable to a City fo greatly exhausted, yet, the Misery of quartering Soldiers exceeding all other Calamities, the Condition proposed was accepted, and Measures were taken for collecting it with all possible Speed. But the Part of the Soldiers, on receiving the Money according as it came in, were fent to quarter in the Suburbs of the Roman and Tofan Gates, there to guard the Ramparts, and help to fortify them, as they were at Work also on an Entrenchment towards the Garden. in the Place where Prospero Colonna had made

made one, yet they kept Possession of the fame Quarters, as much as those who had remained within the City, and committed the same Outrages; Bourbon either making no Account of his Promise, or unable, as it is supposed, to resist the lawless Will and Insolence of the Soldiery, somented also by some of the Generals, who, either out of Ambition or Hatred, wilfully raised Difficulties, and obstructed the Execution of his Purposes.

THE People of Milan deprived of this Milery of Hope, having no farther Expectations nor of the Refuge, fell into fuch Despair, that, as we Country? are well affured, some of them, to put an End to fuch intolerable Miseries and Punishments by Dying, since they found it impossible to do it by Living, threw themfelves from high Places into the Streets; others, miferable 3pectacles! hanged themselves; nor was this sufficient to moderate the Rapaciousness and savage Barbarity of the Soldiers. Very miferable also at this time was the Condition of the Country, oppressed and exhausted, without the least Compassion, by the Sol-VOL. IX. diers H

A. D. diers of the Confederates, whose Coming was at first expected by the Inhabitants with the greatest Joyfulness, but they had now by their Rapines and Extortions converted the Benevolence of the People into the highest Degree of Hatred. But such is the general Corruption of the Military of our Times, who, taking Example from the Spaniards, ravage and ruin Friends as well as Enemies without Distinction. For tho' the Licentiousness of the Soldiers had for many Ages been great in Italy, yet it had received infinite Augmentation from the Spanish Infantry, but for a Reason, if not just, at least necessary, because in all the Italian Wars they had been very ill paid. But as from Examples, tho' excufable in the Beginning, the Proceedings are always from bad to worfe, the Italian Soldiers, tho' not under the same Necesfity, because they were paid, yet, following the Example of the Spaniards, have begun to be no way inferior to them in their Enormities, whence, to the great Reproach of the Military of the present Age, the Soldiers make no longer any Difference between Friends and Foes, but ravage

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and do as much Mischief to the People A. D. and Countries which they are paid to defend, as to those they are paid to distress and invade.

By this time the Provisions in the Caffle of Castle of Milan were so far spent, that Milan in the Besieged apprehended they must Distress. foon of Necessity furrender themfelves. But being defirous to hold out as long as they could, because some of the chief Officers of the Army of the Allies continued feeding them with Hopes of Relief, in the Night before the Seventeenth of July, they turned out, by the Gate of the Castle which looks towards the Entrenchment that inclosed it on the Outfide, above Three Hundred Persons, between Foot, Women, Children, and ufeless Mouths; and tho' at the Noise which they made the Enemy's Guard gave the Alarm, yet meeting with no other Opposition, and the Entrenchment being so narrow as to be passable by the Help of Pikes, they all got over fafe. There were Two Trenches at the Distance of Two Stone-casts from the Castle, and be-H 2 twixt VIII

A. D. twixt them was a Rampart of about the Height of Four Braces, which served not only as a Guard against the Castle, but also secured the Trenches against all Attacks from the Side towards the Field. The People that escaped went on to the Army at Marignano, and there atteffing the great Extremities to which the Befieged were reduced, and the Weakness of the Entrenchments, which had been paffed by Women and Children, prevailed on the Generals to return, and make an Attempt to relieve the Castle, with the Consent of the Duke, who was not willing to take upon himself alone the Trouble of making Excuses, which were not fo easy to be made as before, because, there being now in the Army above Five Thousand Swifs, there was no longer Room for the principal Reason which he had affigned of his Inactivity, which was the Danger of approaching Milan with none but Italian Foot. The mountain

> It was therefore unanimously resolved in Council that the Army should, without making any further Attempts on any

any other Part, directly approach the A. D. Castle, and, taking Possession of the 1526. Churches of San Gregorio and Sant' Angelo near the outer Trench, post themselves under Milan. With this Resolution they broke up from Marignano, and, Faint and after a difficult March of Four Days by unfuccessa Road encumbered with Banks and tempt to Ditches, on the 22d of July arrived be-relieve it. tween the Abbey of Cafaretto and the River Ambro, in a Place commonly called the Ambra. Here the Duke, varying from what had at first been resolved in Council, would have the Army encamp with its Front towards the Abbey, lefs than two Miles from Milan, and the Ambro at its Back, extending itself on the Right Hand to the Key, and on the Left to the Bridge, so that it might be faid to be posted between the two Gates of Renza and Tola, because it took in a little of the new Gate, and in those Respects, and by the Nature of the Ceuntry, it was a very strong Quarter. The Duke had chosen this Situation before that of the Monasteries, because, as he said, it was nearer the Castle, and not so much under the Walls H 3

A. D. Walls as to necessitate him to expose him-1526. felf to Danger, or to be deprived of the Liberty of turning himself which Way he pleased; and because the Enemies, threatened at feveral Quarters, would be obliged to keep strong Guards at several Places, which, confidering the Smalness of their Number, would increase their Difficulties. The Army arriving at this Post, a small Detachment the same Day took Possession of the Town of Moncia by Capitulation, and the next Day, by a Cannonade, took the Castle, in which were an Hundred Neapolitan Foot. And now the Debates in Council turned all on what was to be done for throwing Provisions into the Castle of Milan, reduced, as they were affured, to the utmost Necessity. and for procuring, as they intended, a fafe Egress to Francesco Sforza: And tho' many of the General Officers, either because it was really their Sentiment, or to shew themselves courageous and valiant in Matters which must be determined with greater Hazard of the Honour and Reputation of others than of their own, advised an Attack of the Entrenchment,

yet the Duke of Urbino, who judged it a A. D. very dangerous Attempt, not by openly 1526. contradicting, but by proposing Difficulties. and spinning out the Time, prevented the coming to a Conclusion. The Resolution then being deferred till the next Day, the Swifs Generals demanded to be introduced into the Council, in which they were not ordinarily prefent. The Governor of Mus, who had inlifted most of the Swifs, and therefore retained among the Swifs them the Title of Captain General, spokein the for them, and declared that the Swifs Ge-Council. nerals were furprifed that, fince the War was begun for fuccouring the Castle of Milan, and Affairs were in fo necessitous a Situation, they should boggle and hesitate, when there was Need of Spirit and Execution, and stand wasting the Time in Disputes whether the Castle should be relieved or not: That it was not to be supposed but that they would take such a Refolution as should be conducive to the common Safety, and redound to the Honour of fuch great Generals, and of fo great an Army; in which Case they would let the Council know that they should H 4

A. D. take it as a very great Reproach and Afis26. front if, in their Approach to the Castle,
they were not assigned that Place and
Share of the Fatigue and Danger which
the Honour and Faith of the Heluetic Nation deserved; and could not dispense
with themselves from putting them in
Mind, that in taking this Resolution
they were not to keep in Memory
the Actions of those of their Countrymen
who had shamefully ruined the Enterprises in which they had been concerned,
so as to forget the Glory and good Fortune
of those who had come off Conquerors.

While the Time was wasted in these Consultations, every one clearly perceiving that the Duke was of Opinion that the Castle could not be relieved. News came, though not as yet quite certain, that the Besieged had capitulated, or were on the Point of capitulating, with the Imperial Commanders. The Duke, giving Credit to this Advice, said, before all the Council, that this Event, though pernicious to the Duke of Milan, was defirable and beneficial to the League, which was by that means delivered from its Apprehensions

prehensions that an ambitious Desire or A. D. Necessity of succouring the Castle woulds induce the Army to take some precipitate Step: That those who had ever persuaded themselves that the Place might be relieved were highly imprudent, and that now, being delivered from that Danger, they were at Liberty to concert new Measures, and to give new Directions for managing the War in the same Manner as if it were the first Day of its Beginning. Soon after certain Advice came of the Castle of Milan sur-Agreement, for the Duke of Milan, the rendered. Garrison being reduced to fuch Extremities for Want of Food that it could hardly subfift one Day, and utterly despairing of Relief, fince the Army of the League, which had arrived two Days before in a Quarter fo near, was observed to make no Motion, proceeded on the Treaty which he had for feveral Days, in order to be prepared in fuch a Case, been negotiating with the Duke of Bourbon, who, as foon as the Army had retired, had fent into the Castle to visit him, and concluded the Capitulation on the Twenty-fourth of July. By the Articles he was to furren-The ArA. D. der, without Prejudice to his Rights, the Castle of Milan to the Generals, who were to receive it in the Name of Cafar, having Liberty from them to march out in Safety, together with all those who were in the Castle, and Leave to stop at Como, which was affigned him for his Residence with its Government and Revenues, till Casar's Resolution on the Affair should be fignified, and the Revenues were to be increased by an additional Income, making the Whole amount to the yearly Sum of Three Thousand Ducats: That the Generals should grant him a Pass for his going to Cæsar in Person, and should be obliged to pay the Soldiers in the Castle, whose Arrears to that Time were faid to amount to Twenty Thousand Ducats: That Gianangelo Riccio and Politiano should be delivered into the Hands of the Protonotary Caracciolo, that he might examine them, paffing his Word to release them afterwards, and to get them conducted to a Place of Safety: That the Duke of Milan should set at Liberty the Bishop of Alessandria, who was a Prisoner in the Castle of Cremona, and that Castelnuovo

nuovo in the Tortonese should be given to A. D. Sforzino. There was no Mention made in this Agreement of the Castle of Cremona, the Surrender of which the Duke, when he could no longer hold out against Hunger, had ordered Jacopo Filippo Sacco, whom he had fent to the Duke of Bourbon, if there was no other Way to obtain an Agreement, to promise the Cæsarean Generals. But Jacopo perceiving by their Speeches, and their Way of Management, their extraordinary Willingness to come to a Convention, and pretending that the Duke would never be perfuaded to give up that Castle, obtained that not a Word should be said about it. For the Imperial Generals, though pretty well affured, from a Multitude of Conjectures, that there was not much Provision in the Castle, and that Necessity would soon put them in Posfession of what they defired, yet being willing to fecure themselves of it, they had resolved to accept it on any Conditions, not being certain that the Army of the League would not attempt to fuccour it; in which Case, being under Apprehensions that the Trenches could not well be defended.

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A. D. fended, they had determined to march out and give Battle in the open Field, which dubious Event of Fortune they voluntarily avoided, and accepted what they could get from the Duke. The next Day the Duke marched out of the Castle, and was attended by many of the Imperial Officers to the Barriers of the Army, from whence, after he had tarried there a Day, he fet out for Como. But the Imperialifts pretending that they had engaged to allow him a fecure Residence in Como, but not to remove the Troops which were there in Garrison, not caring to trust himself any longer with them, though he had before resolved to do nothing that might further irritate the Mind of Cafar, he went from thence to Lodi, which City was by the Confederates freely put into his Hands. And nothing of the Capitulation made with him being observed, except suffering him to march off in Safety with all his Men, and with their Effects, he ratified by a public Instrument the League made by the Pontiff and Venetians in his Name. provided tale, being under Approlations

Tud ne Trenches could net well up de

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Bur at this same Time the Pontiff, tho', on account of the Motions of the Colonnas, he had published a Monitory against the Cardinal, and against others of the Colonna Family, yet feeing his Hopes of changing the Government of Siena much diminished, and thinking it hard to be plagued in the Territory of Rome, readily lent an Ear to Don Ugo di Moncada, who proposed to him, not with an Intention to bring about an Accommodation, but to render him careless and negligent in making Provisions, certain Conditions for removing the Offence given him by the Senefe, and for effecting a Reconciliation between him and the Colonnas. fet on Foot a Treaty for these Purposes, Vespasiano Colonna, a Person in whom the Pontiff confided, arriving at Rome, was the Cause that Clement, who had lost all Hopes of happy Success in his Enterprise upon Siena, and was thinking of withdrawing his Army from the Walls of that City, deferred the Execution of that wholfome Counfel, expecting, with leffer Reproach, to call off his Troops as foon as this Agreement should be concluded, tho' the Diforders and Confusions

A. D. fusions in that Army still increasing it was resolved in Florence to recal it. It happened that, the Day before it had been appointed to decamp, Four Hundred Foot fallying out of the City, and taking their Way towards the Artillery, which was guarded by Jacopo Corfo, that Officer with Pope's Ar. his Regiment immediately turned their

before Si-

my routed Backs, and in a great Hurry and Tumult beginning to fly, all the rest of the Army, which was under no Obedience or Discipline, of their own Impulse, without being attacked or purfued, betook themselves to Flight, Generals and Commissaries, as well as Soldiers both Horse and Foot striving who should soonest get out of Danger, and leaving to the Enemies their Provisions, Carriages, and Artillery, of which Ten Pieces between great and small belonging to the Florentines, and Seven to the Perugians, were conveyed with vast Exultation, and in a fort of Triumph into Siena, renewing, with great Shouts of that People, the Difgrace of the Artillery which had a long Time before been lost by the Florentines before the Walls of Siena, and

the Dierders and

were

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were still kept in the public Square of that A. City.

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THIS Defeat was received the Day after the Castle of Milan came into the Hands of the Cæsarean Generals, and, on the same Day the Pontiff, for an Addition, to his private Afflictions, of the Calamities of the Christian Commonwealth, had Advices from Hungary that Solyman, the Ottoman Prince, had marched from Solyman invades Constantinople with a very potent Army to Hungary. make an Invasion into that Kingdom, and after he had passed the River Save without Opposition, because he had a few Years before made himself Master of Belgrade, had taken the Castle of Peter Waradin, and from thence having passed the River Drave, neither Mountains nor Rivers having been sufficient to stop his Progress, it was apparent that all Hungary was in most manifest Danger.

But in Italy it was plain that, by the Reduction of the Castle of Milan under the Power of Cæsar, the State of the War being greatly altered, it was necessary, as

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the Duke of Urbino faid, to form new Defigns, and to take new Refolutions, in the same Manner as it must have been done if the Castle of Milan had not been at the Beginning in the Hands of Francesco Sforza. The Duke on this Occasion, the same Day that the Castle was surrendered, discoursing with the Pontiff's Lieutenant, and the Venetian Proveditor, on the State of Affairs. intimated that it was necessary to conftitute a Captain General of all the League. with a Commission to command the Armies; that he did not demand this Charge more for himself than for others, but had however resolved, without this Authority. to concern himself no farther than with the Command of the Venetian Troops, requesting them to send Notice of it to Rome and to Venice. To diffuade him from infifting on a Demand made at fo unseasonable a Time, and highly resented by the Pope, it was necessary for the Venetian Senate to fend to the Camp Luigi Pisano, a Nobleman of great Authority, by whose Means this Ardor was rather somewhat moderated than extinguished. But as for the Method of the future Proceedings

THE WARS IN ITALY. ceedings in the War, it was refolved not A. D. 1526. to remove from the Camp till the Arrival of the Swiss, who were listed in the Name Duke of and by the Means of the King of France, Advice in And the Duke was of Opinion that after managing their Coming it would be necessary to form Two Camps at Two different Quarters about Milan, not to affault it, or attempt to force it, but to make it fall into their Hands for Want of Provisions. This Method, he faid, he was confident would fucceed in the Space of Three Months, always opposing with great Warmth the Opinion of those who advised that, as soon as these Camps should be formed, an Attempt should be made to take that City by Storm, alledging that the League being very powerful in Money, and the Imperialists labouring under very great Difficulties in that Respect, they had all the Reafons in the World to promise themselves a prosperous Issue of the Enterprise, and no Reason to fear the contrary, but a Desire to accelerate it, for the Enemies wasting away with Time and Patience, Affairs could not fail of being brought to a happy End. And when he was at any time an-Objection

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**fwered** 

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A. D. swered that his Reasoning would at all

times hold very good, if he could rest secure that no Succours of fresh Infantry would come from Germany, by which the Imperialists might be enabled to take the Field, in which Case it could not be denied that Affairs must remain wholly subject to the Will of Fortune, his Reply was that in this Case he promised himself a no less certain Victory, because knowing Bourbon's Heat he concluded that, whenever he imagined himself equal in Strength to the Army of the Confederacy, he would be for pushing forward with so much Precipitation, as to give them an Opportunity of obtaining with Ease some confiderable Advantage, which would haften the Victory.

Bur because, on account of the Difficulties which are known to attend Levies of Swifs, it was doubted that their Coming would be retarded many Days, and the Loss of so much Time would be very detrimental, it was resolved, by the Advice principally of the Duke of Urbino, the Duke of Milan also insisting on the same, immediately

Duke's Answer.

immediately to detach Malatesta Baglione A. D. with Three Hundred Men at Arms, Three Hundred Light Horse, and Five An Attempt or-Thousand Foot, to attack Cremona; an dered on Enterprise judged easy because the Garri-Gremona. fon confifted of little more than One Hundred Men at Arms, Two Hundred Light Horse, One Thousand of the choicest German Foot, and Three Hundred Spaniards, with very few Cannon, a less Quantity of Powder, and but a slender Stock of Provisions, the People of the City, tho' dispirited and dejected, yet Enemies, and the Castle against them, which, tho' it had been separated from the City by a Trench, yet, from the Report of Annibale Piccinardo, the Governor, there were Hopes of laying open the Flanks, which would facilitate the Taking of the Place. Pursuant to these Counsels Malatesta took his March for Cremona, and the Army being weakened by this Detachment, the Duke of Urbino was under no small Apprehensions that the Troops which were in Milan would some Night or other attack him in his Camp; fo far was the Situation of Affairs from giving Hopes of Victory. I 2

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Victory. Very frequent Skirmishes however passed by Order of Giovanni de' Medici, in which, tho' he greatly distinguished himself by his military Skill and Resolution, and the Valour of the Italian Infantry, who had been despised before they came under his Command, was displayed much to their Honour, yet the Advantage, with respect to the main Point of the War, was less considerable than the Damage, by the Loss of some of the best disciplined and most courageous Soldiers of the Army.

But in the mean time the ill Success of Affairs had greatly weakened the Spirit of the Pontiff, who was not provided with Money for a long War, as this was likely to prove, nor disposed to provide it by those Methods which the Importance of the prefent Situation required, and with which other Pontiffs were used to supply their Necessities. But he was much more disturbed, by observing that the Operations of the King of France did by no means correspond to the Obligations of the League, and to what every one expected of him. For, besides having been very dilatory in

King of France remis in prosecuting the War.

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the

the Payment of the Forty Thousand Du- A. D. cats for the first Month, and remiss in 1526. making the necessary Provisions for the March of the Swifs, no Preparations were observed to be made for opening the Campaign on the other Side of the Mountains, on a Pretence that it was first necessary to give Intimation to Cafar, as ordered by the Articles of the Confederacy; fince, if he should proceed otherwise, the King of England, who was in a particular defensive League with Cæfar, would perhaps come in to his Affistance; but, if Intimation were given, that Obligation would be of no Force, in which Case he would enter upon a War, and hoped that the King of England would do the same, having promised that, as foon as Intimation was given, he would make a Protestation to Cæsar, and afterwards enter into the Confederacy made at Coignac. The King proceeded also but coldly in preparing a maritime Force, and, what was a more manifest Indication of his Mind, the Five Hundred Lances which he was bound to fend into Italy greatly delayed to pass the Mountains. And tho' it was alledged that this Slowness proceeded eithe

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A. D. either from the Negligence of the French, or from the Want of Money, and the Loss of Credit, for some Years last past, with the Merchants of Lions, or from the extreme Weakness and Disorder of the Men at Arms by the Loss received in the Battle of Pavia, and because they had received none or but very flender Pay fince that Time, fo that every Thing in a manner wanting to be put in Order it was not to be dispatched without Length of Time, yet whofoever confidered with more Attention the Progress of Affairs began to doubt that the King preferred a long War before a quick Victory, as being apprehenfive that, as there is but little Faith and Confidence between Princes, the Italians, as foon as the Dutchy of Milan should be recovered, paying but little Regard to his Interests, would either make a separate Peace with Cafar, or at least would not heartily profecute the War against him in fuch a Manner as to oblige him to restore his Children.

THE Pontiff was held in the greater Pope fulpicious of Suspense by the Conduct of the King of of England England,

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England, who being follicited to enter into A. D. the Confederacy, of which he had been the Encourager, not corresponding to his former Promises and Persuasions, demanded, rather for interposing a Delay than for any other Reason, that the Confederates should oblige themselves to pay him the Money due to him from Cæfar, and that the State and Revenue promised him in the Kingdom of Naples should be exchanged for others in the Dutchy of Milan.

THE Pope was also under Apprehensions Afraid of that the Colonnas, who by their various the Colon-Motions gave him continual Umbrage, nas. would attack him with the Forces of the Kingdom of Naples: Collecting therefore in one View all the Difficulties, and all the Dangers, he was very importunate with his Confederates, that, befides folliciting each Member of the Alliance to furnish his Quota by Sea as well as Land, as expressed in the Articles of the League, they would with one Confent attack the Kingdom of Naples with a Thousand Light Horse, and Twelve Thousand Foot, and a I 4 certain

1526.

certain Number of Men at Arms; judging, from Effects during the Course of the War to this present, that Affairs could never be managed with prosperous Success, if Cæsar were not molested in some other Quarter besides the Dutchy of Milan. On these Motives he dispatched away to the King of France Giovambattista Sanga, a Roman, one of his Secretaries, to invite him to carry on the War of France with more Vigour, and to represent to him how greatly he found himself exhausted, and unable to bear the same Expences, if he were not affifted by him with a Sum of Money: That though in forming the Confederacy there had been no Debate on attacking the Kingdom of Naples during the War in Lombardy, he was disposed to undertake the Enterprise at present, in which the Venetians, though at first they made some Difficulty, because they were unwilling to burden themselves with fuch great Expences, yet at last, overcome by his Importunities, had confented to concur even without the King, but with a leffer Number of Troops in Proportion to his Quota: To request of the

Sollicits the King to join in an Expedition against Naples.

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the King that, on this Account, besides the Five Hundred Lances whom he defigned to put under the Command of the Marquis of Saluzzo, induced rather, as he faid, by the good Fortune, than by the Qualifications of the Man, he would fend Three Hundred Lances more into Lombardy, that Part of them might be spared for an Expedition against Naples: To sollicit the Coming of the Fleet, to be employed either in straitening Genoa, or against the Kingdom of Naples; the Equipment of which Fleet, though carried on by the French with the same Slowness as their other Provisions, was yet continually pressed, and went forward. The King's Quota of the naval Armament was four Galleons, and fixteen light Gallies, that of the Venetians thirteen Gallies, and the Pope's eleven, over all which, at the Instances of the King, was appointed Captain General Pietro Navarra, though the Pope would rather have given the Command to Andrea Doria. Besides all this, Sanga had very fecret Orders to induce the King, if possible, to undertake the Enterprise against Milan for himself,

A. D. to give him Occasion to rouse himself to the War with all his Forces. Sanga had also a Commission to proceed after this to the King of England, to request of him a Supply of Money, fince that King, who at first was so eager for a War against Cafar that, if the League had been negotiated in England, as he and the Cardinal of York defired, it was believed that he would have entered into the Confederacy, yet, the Time and the Necessities of the Castle of Milan not admitting of a long Negotiation, after he faw the League made by the others, contented himself with standing neuter, as a Spectator and a Judge. The Pope also stimulated by vain of an the Venetians, and no less by the King of France, who for that Purpose had sent the Bishop of Bajeux to Ferrara, treated of compounding the Differences with that Duke, though rather for Show than Effect, proposing to him several Conditions, and, amongst others, to give him Ravenna

> in Exchange for Modena and Reggio; which Expedient was rejected by the Duke, not only because, having taken Encouragement by the Retreat of the

> > Army

Treats in Accommodation with the Duke of Ferrara.

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Army from the Gates of Milan, he was A. D. become more difficult than usual to comply with the Terms proposed, but was more especially averse to that of Ravenna, both on account of the great Difference of the Revenues, and because it teemed to him to give Occasion for embroiling himself at some Time or other with the Venetians.

Such were the Negotiations, the Provisions, and the Operations of the Confederates, delayed, interrupted, and varied, according to the Forces, the Views, and the Counsels of the Princes. But Cafar, whose Resolutions depended on himself, was by no means careless or irresolute in exerting the utmost of his Strength. Wherefore the King of France having, at the Request of the Ambassadors of the Confederates, refused Leave to the Viceroy, who demanded it even with Tears, to pass into Italy, that Minister, after refusing Presents to the Value of Twenty Thousand Ducats, was returned into Spain, carrying with him a Schedule, written with the King's own Hand, fignifying that he was ready to observe the Convention of Madrid.

A. D. Madrid, on changing the Restitution of Burgundy into the Payment of Two Millions of Ducats. Cafar, at the Return of the Viceroy, losing all Hopes that the Cafar's Preparati-King of France would observe the Capitulation, refolved to fend him into Italy with a Fleet carrying on board the German Foot, who, to the Number of little less than Three Thousand, had their Quarters at Perpignan, and as many Spanish Foot as would make the whole amount to Six Thousand effective Men. He took care also to send to Milan a new Supply of One Hundred Thousand Ducats, and hastened as much as possible the Equipment of the Squadron, which could not be ready to put to Sea fo foon as wished, because, befides the Time required for getting the Ships together, and preparing the Spanish Troops, it was necessary to pay the Germans One Hundred Thousand Ducats, for which they were in Arrears. Besides this, he was every Day giving out Commissions for making new Levies of Foot in Germany to be fent to Milan; but providing no Money to pay them, and his Brother being unable to make any Provision of that Kind

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Kind on account of his Poverty, that Ex- A. D. 1526.

pedient proceeded very flowly; and yet the Slowness and unprosperous Success of the Confederates gave Room enough for any Delay.

FOR Malatesta, arriving before Cremona, erected, in the Night of the Seventh siege of of August, a Battery against the Gate of Cremona. Mussa, imagining that Place to be weak, because it was but badly flanked, and had no Rampart; and as he defigned to give an Affault at the same Time from the Side of the Castle, he thought it for his Purpose to plant his Cannon at a good Distance, that the Besieged might be so much the more necessitated to divide their Forces. But after the Battery had played for some Time the Place was found to be strong, and to be lined with a good Rampart, and the Breach made in the Wall to be too high from the Ground. Malatesta therefore thought fit not to give the Affault, but changing his Resolution set about erecting a new Battery, near the Castle, in a Place called Santa Monaca, where Federigo da Bozzolo had formerly planted his Cannon; and

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and at the same time he drew Two Trenches in the Square of the Castle, one running from the right Hand towards the Po, where the Garrison had made Two Entrenchments, and he was in Hopes, by means of this Trench, to make himself Master of a Redoubt, to which he was already approached within Six Braces, and which was within the first Entrenchment of the Besieged near the Wall. On this Redoubt, which was to serve him for a Platform, he defigned to plant Cannon to play on the Curtain, which the French had formerly battered; for Prevention of which the Imperialifts erected another Redoubt behind their Second Entrenchment. The other Trench of Malatesta extended from the left Hand towards the Wall, and was fo near that of the Besieged as to be within a Stone's Cast; and as foon as those Trenches should be compleat and fit for his Purpose, the General designed to erect a Battery; nor were the Workmen much annoyed by the Enemy's Cannon, for in Cremona were no more than Four Falconets, which very feldom fired because there was but a small Stock of Powder; but the Garrison were continually

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continually making Sallies, which much in- 4. D. commoded the Labourers in the Trenches, and frequently put them in great Disorder, tho' they had a strong Guard. Malatesta, as one at a Loss, and uncertain how to proceed, was continually teazing and perplexing, not much to his Honour, with various Sentiments contained in his Letters, the Generals of the Army, who finding the Siege become every Day more difficult ordered to his Camp Twelve Hundred German Foot lately listed at the common Charge of the Pontiff and Venetians. And a few Days after, to prevent any ill Effects of the Discord and Emulation between Malatesta and Giulio Manfrone, there marched thither, with a Detachment of Three Thousand Foot from the Army, the Proveditor Pefaro, who from an intimate Friend was almost grown out of Favour with the Duke of Urbino. But Malatesta, in the Night before the Thirteenth Day of August, ordered Four Pieces of Cannon to be planted between the Gate of Santo Luca and the Castle, in order to posfess himself of a Bastion, which being battered almost a whole Day, he carried on

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A. D. the Trench home to it, in Hopes to become Master of it that same Night. But about Four Hours within Night a few German Foot fallied out of the Town, and falling upon the Guard of the Trench, which within and without amounted to above One Thousand Men, put them in Disorder, and forced them to abandon it; but the next Day the Germans were obliged to leave it, fo that the Trench which cost fo much Labour remained abandoned by both Parties. But Fortune had a mind to shew herself favourable to the Besiegers, if they had been so wise as to know or take the Opportunity; for the Night before the Fifteenth there tumbled down, of itself, about Fifty Braces of the Wall between the Gate of San Luca and the Castle, together with a Piece of Cannon; and had the Befiegers been quick, and given the Affault by Break of Day, the Garrison, who were under a Consternation at the sudden Accident, had no Hopes of making Refistance, because the Place where they must have stood in making a Defence was commanded by the Cannon of the Castle. But while Malatesta delayed, first in taking a Resolution.

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Resolution, and afterwards in putting his 1,526. Men in Order to storm the Breach, the Befieged were hard at Work, and the first Thing they did was to throw up a Bank or Rampart to cover themselves from the Artillery of the Castle, and then they cast up another in Front of the Enemy; fo that when the Affault was given, which was not done till Four Hours before Night, tho' the greater Part of the Army was employed on that Side, yet, as they were too much exposed, they approached with very confiderable Loss; and in the Attack, befides other Defences, they were miserably annoyed by Showers of Stones inceffantly poured upon them from the Place, by which Giulio Manfrone, Captain Macone, and many other Soldiers of good Note, were killed on the Spot. At the same time another Affault was given by the Way of the Castle, in which the Besiegers were repulfed, but with inconfiderable Loss: And a Third Attack was also defigned on the Breach made by the Battery at Santa Monaca, with Eighty Men at Arms, One Hundred Light Horse, and One Thousand Foot; but the Ditch being VOL. IX. found K

A. D. found full of Water, and the Place well fortified, they refired without attempting any thing. After this arrived the Proveditor Pelaro, with Three Thousand Italian Foot, above One Thousand Swifs, and some more Artillery, in order to raise Two brisk Batteries. As there were now above Eight Thousand Foot in the Camp, it was resolved to form Two Attacks, and to carry on each Attack with Three Thousand Foot, besides another with Two Thousand on the Side of the Castle. The Befiegers having got together a vast Number of Pioneers worked with great Diligence on the Trenches, one of which, being opened on the Twenty-third of August, they advanced, after a long Dispute, so far as to command a Flank of the Enemy. The Night before the Twenty-fixth Two Batteries were finished, one under the Direction of Malatesta beyond the Place where Federigo had raifed a Battery, the other against the Gate of Musia, which was directed by Camillo Orfino. But neither Battery had any manner of Success. for the Ground which Malatesta had chofen, being marshy, could not support the Weight

Weight of the Artillery, but funk and A. D. gave way at every Firing, so that the Balls ftruck the Wall too high; and though the Battery of Camillo Struck low, yet there being a Ditch on that Side full of Water, and the Approaches well flanked with Harquebusiers, it was impracticable to advance that Way. Wherefore, tho an Affault was given in spite of these Difficulties, the Affailants were beaten off with great Loss; and though on the Side of Malatesta the Troops advanced to the Wall, after passing a Ditch in which the Water was higher than had been imagined, they were easily repulsed. On the Side of the Castle also Part of the Cavalier, or Platform, was beaten down, and the Soldiers mounted the Breach, but the De-fcent on the Infide proving too high the Besiegers, who had carried on the Attack from first to last with little Order, were repulsed, and had many of their Number killed and wounded, with very little Loss to the Besieged.

THESE Disorders, with the Despair of taking Cremona by any other Method, for K 2 there 148

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Duke of Urbino fets out for Cre-

A. D. there was no Command nor Obedience in that Camp, obliged the Duke of Urbino to repair thither in Person. Taking therefore with him almost all the Venetian Troops in the Army that was about Milan, and leaving there Part of the Men at Arms, with all the Ecclefiaftic Forces, and the Swifs, which were arrived to the Number of Thirteen Thousand, despising, now there remained a fmaller Number of Troops, and those deprived of a Head of fuch Authority, that Danger, of which before, when attended with greater Forces. he pretended to stand in continual Dread. and declaring that it was not the Custom of Men of War, and of Spaniards less than others, to attack other Men of War in the Strength of their Entrenchments, he fet out for the Camp before Cremona, with a Defign to make himself Master of it, not by Force of Storm and Battery alone, because the Fortifications of the Enemy were too formidable, but, by making Approaches to their Trenches and Redoubts with the Help of a vast Multitude of Workmen, to carry the Place by the Force of Spades and Pickaxes, rather than of Swords and Guns. ound:

Guns. The Management of the Duke A. D. in this Enterprise against the State of Milan was blamed by the Imperial Generals His Conon many Accounts, but especially for theduct cen-Retreat from Milan, and no less for having at first attempted, in so weak a Manner, and with fo fewForces, to befrege Cremona, from a vain Confidence that it was eafy to take it, and, after he had discovered the Difficulties of the Enterprise, for continuing to employ in it fuch a Part of the Army, as to lose greater Opportunities, which offered during the Time that was wasted before that City. For the entire Number of the Swifs, so greatly defired. being arrived, it was easy, by blocking up Milan, as it had been always defigned, with two Armies, to intercept the vast Quantities of Provisions that were continually conveyed into it by the Way of Pavia, which was not effected by the Army alone which lay at Ambra, because it required the Command of a great Circuit of Ground. But it was of much more Importance to lofe the Opportunity, which perhaps presented itself, of taking Milan by Force: For the Troops within the Cit K 3 anibioms

A. D.

1 5 26.

City were become so sickly, that it being difficult to find sound Men enough to go upon Duty and the ordinary Guards, it was the Opinion of many, and of the Imperialists themselves, that had they, in such a Circumstance, been vigorously pushed, the Place would have been in great Danger of being lost.

Motions of the ConfederateFleets.

Bur a greater and a certain Opportunity was presented of taking Genoa: For the Venetian Squadron having joined that of the Pontiff at Civita Vecchia, the combined Fleet failed to the Port of Livorno, where they waited the Arrival of the French Squadron, which confifting of fixteen Gallies, four Galleons, and four other-Ships, was advanced on the Coast of the Western Riviera, and had, by voluntary Surrender, taken Possession of the City of Savona, and of all that Riviera, afterwhich they took feveral Vessels laden with Corn for Genoa, and proceeded to Liworne to join the others. It had been also resolved to equip, at the common Cost of the Allies, in the Port of Marseilles, twelve large Ships, either for attacking, according

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according to the Advice of Pietro Na. A. D. varra, in Conjunction with the French Gallies, the Fleet that was fitting out in the Port of Carthagena, or at least to engage it after it had put to Sea. The three combined Fleets then fetting Sail the 29th of August, the Ecclesiastic and Venetian Squadrons put in at Porto Fino, and the French returned to Savona, from which Stations commanding all the Seas without Opposition, Genoa, where was a Scarcity of Provisions, was reduced to such blocked Straits, that, as nothing could enter it by up by Sea. Sea, it is not doubted but that, if a Body of Troops had been ordered to cut off all Communication with the City by Land. which was its only Support, it must of Necessity have capitulated. Nor did the Admirals of the Fleets, fometimes by Letters, sometimes by proper Messengers infift on any further Provision, demanding only that at least Four Thousand Foot should be sent to block up the Place by Land; but neither could any Troops be spared from the Camp before Cremona. nor did the Duke of Urbino or the other Commanders think it fafe to diminish the

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Army

## THE HISTORY OF

152 A. D. Army that lay near Milan; for which Reasons they were amused with Hopes of obtaining a fufficient Number of Land Forces after the Reduction of Cremona.

after it had but to Sea. THE Enterprise against the City of Cremona, from the Valour and stout Refistance of the Defendants, and the Greatness of the Works carried on by the Pioneers, proceeded every Day with more Tediousness than had been imagined. For the Duke, who had taken care to have in his Camp Two Thousand Pioneers, with good Store of Artillery and Ammunition, and a vast Plenty of Working-tools of all Sorts, continually preffed the Working in the Trenches of the Castle for advancing to the Redoubt towards the Po, in order to possess himself of it, and make it serve him as a Cavalier for erecting a Battery on it, though the Enemy, having for feveral Days before mistrusted his Defign, had retired from it to a strong Rampart erected behind it. To He worked also at the two Heads of a Trench that croffed the Square of the Castle, in order to ruin the Cavaliers raifed by the Enemy, and between Aminy

between the two Trenches of the Field A. D. the Workmen drew another Trench, fix Braces wide, covering themselves before and at the Side with Ramparts of Earth, for raifing a Cavalier as foon as they had penetrated to the Ditch of the Enemy's Intrenchment. They worked also at carrying on a Ditch without the Castle towards the Wall of the Town, for making Way to a Bastion towards the ruined Wall; and they worked on another Trench from the Gate of Santo Luca to the same Wall. All this while the Cannon of the Castle kept playing on the Enemy's Ramparts, which, from the Badness of the Earth. that was loofe and crumbled, were eafily penetrated through. In the mean time the Besieged were not idle; for, doubting that they could not long keep Possession of their Intrenchments and Cavaliers, they worked on a Ditch towards the Buildings of the City, and yet made frequent Sallies; attacking the Workmen with great Vigour, and in the Night before the Seventh attacked the Trenches that were making on the Side of the Castle in three different Places, and finding the Guard almost

# THE HISTORY OF

A. D. almost all asleep, killed above an Hundred 1526, of them, besides several Officers, and penetrated to the Ravelin of the Castle. They became, however, more and more ftraitened; for the Duke of Urbino having carried the Trenches to their Ramparts which separated the Castle from the City, caused them to be attacked by some Harquebusiers, and chosen Men covered with Targets, who did good Execution, in Conjunction with the Artillery from the Turrets of the Castle. The Imperialists therefore fet Fire to the Rampart of the Cavalier, that it might not ferve for a Parapet to the Enemy; and the Besiegers having on the 19th by their Trenches made a Descent into the Ditch in two Places, they retired to another Intrenchment, at which the Duke of Urbino was not much concerned, because they had not Time to well fortify themselves, and having retired to a larger Post a greater Guard was required to defend it. On the Side of the Field, however, though the Works had been perfected, the Siege was carried on fomewhat flowly, because it had been found necessary to re-establish and recruit

155 1526.

recruit the Venetian Foot, who had been a long Time without Money, and therefore much diminished in Number, one Disorder always coming upon the Back of another in the Affairs of the Confederates. While these Things passed, the Imperialists made frequent Sallies in the Night, in order to make an Attempt on the Trenches, but in vain, for the Experience of the Blow they had received had put the Besiegers on their Guard. But the Duke, who had fufficiently recruited and augmented his Foot, on the 22d began very diligently to batter a Tower on the Side of Federigo's Battery, where, after a very few Discharges, perceiving that the Enemies were reduced to fuch Straits that they could not refuse capitulating, he fent into the Place a Trumpet to demand the City, who returned to the Camp with a German and a Spanish Officer, and with Guido Vaina of Forli: And the next Day a Capitulation was figned, by which the Garrison, if not re-furrenlieved before the End of the Month, was dered to to evacuate Cremona, the Germans obtain-the Allies, ing Leave to return into Germany, and

the

1526.

A. D. the Spaniards to retire into the Kingdom of Naples, on a Promise not to engage in defending the State of Milan for four Months enfuing. They were to leave behind them all their Artillery and Ammunition, and to march out with Colours furled, and without Sound of Drum or Trumpet, except just when they began Trenches, but in vaint for the .svom of

of the Blow they had received sad par

In the mean time the King of France, at whose Court a few Days after arrived; in quality of Legate, Cardinal Salviati, who had departed out of Spain by Cæfar's Permission, answered to the Requests that were made him in the Name of the Pontiff by way of Excuse, alledging that if Answer to his Works should not be equal to his mands of Will the Reason must be ascribed to his being greatly exhausted of Money; but, however, if he would grant him a Power to exact a Tenth of the Ecclesiastical Revenues in his whole Kingdom, he would affift him with Part of the Money collected by that Means as far as Two Thoufand Ducats each Month, and would concur in the War of Naples. He refused,

King of France's thePontiff.

tho'

tho' at first he shewed some Inclination to it, to endeavour at the Acquisition of Milan for himself, Lautrechn especially, and his Mother, diffuading him from it. He gave some Hopes of beginning a War on the other Side of the Mountains, but faid it was necessary there should be a previous Intimation, which being made he offered to take the Field on the Side of Flanders, and of Perpignan. It was however perceived that he was not disposed to make fuch a Step, his Mind, in that Respect, agreeing with the Inclination of the King of England, with whom the Applications made on the Part of the Pontiff had produced but very little Effect; for the Cardinal of York, willing to amuse every Body, and to be intreated by all, prevented Matters from being brought to any Conclusion, it being usual for the King and the Cardinal to answer to fuch Sollicitations, "We have no Concern with the Affairs of Italy," Don't lo engle to the Control savior

and took effectual Cara that Tremes their AT this Juncture the Confederates, being apprehensive that the Grisons, who during the Siege of the Castle of Milan had TUE

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A. D.

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A. D. had recovered and difmantled Chiavenna, would lift under the Duke of Bourbon, or at least permit the Germans, who were ex-

Grifons hired by the Confederates.

pected to reinforce him, to pass through their Country, the Pontiff and the Venetians engaged to take Two Thousand Grison Foot into their Service, and to pay the Governor of Mus (who, out of Fear of the Duke of Milan, at his Coming to the Army, had fled from the Camp, and afterwards, pretending that there was Money owing to him for the Payments of the Swifs, had feized and imprisoned Two Venetian Ambassadors that were going to France) Five Thousand Five Hundred Ducats which they had promifed him, to restore to them the like Sum, which the faid Governor had exacted of them, and to cause them to be freed from the new Duties which he had imposed on those who navigated the Lake of Como. The Grisons, on the other Side, obliged themfelves to hinder the Passage of the Germans, and took effectual Care that Tegane, their General, hired by the Duke of Bourbon, with Two Thousand Foot, should not enting the Siege of the Caffle of . daram bed

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But in the mean time the other Affairs A. D. 1526. of Lombardy proceeded but coldly; for the Army about Milan, in which the Number, but not the Pay, of the Swifs was diminished, stood idle, employing themselves in nothing but in Skirmishes according to Custom. More diligent and industrious, as well as more troublesome and mischievous. were the Spaniards who lay in Garrison at Spaniards Carpi; for having fecret Intelligence by trouble-Spies, and the Advantage of Shelter in the fome. Territory of the Duke of Ferrara, they gave vast Obstruction to the Passage of the Couriers and other Persons to the Army, and, scowering all the circumjacent Countries as far as the Bolognese and Mantouan, committed innumerable Ravages, tho' upon none but the Ecclesiastic Subjects.

AT last the Marquis of Saluzzo had passed the Mountains, and was arrived in Piedmont with Five Hundred French Lan-Marquis of Saluzzo ces, on whose Coming Fabritio Maramaus arrives in who had laid Siege to Valenza, in which Piedmont. was a Garrison commanded by Giovanni da Birago, and was battering it with his Artillery,

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1526.

Artillery, retired to Basignano. But the Marquis refusing to pass any further, unless the Confederates, by an equal Share, paid him for Four Thousand Foot, which he had, with that Intention, brought with him out of France, and the King with great Earnestness insisting on the same for the Security of his Men at Arms, and for the greater Reputation of the Marquis, it was necessary to consent to it. At the same time Sinibaldo dal Fiesco seized on the Town of Pontriemoli, which was in the Possession of Sforzino, but it was soon recovered with the same Ease by means of the Castle. In Milan was a great Scarcity of Money, for not the least Supply came from Cafar, and fuch was the Poverty and intolerable Expences of the Milanese, that they found it a difficult Matter to make up the Thirty Thousand Ducats which the People had promifed to the Duke of Bourbon, under whom lifted Galeazzo da Birago, and Lodovico da Belgiojoso, who had hitherto, at all Adventures, followed the French Party, because their Service had not been accepted by the Confederates on account of the vast Expence

which

Money fcarce in Milan

Artillery,

# which they fustained; at this time Gio- A. D. vanni da Birago took Possession of Novi.

AMIDST these Movements the State Ambiguof the Marquis of Mantoua was in a manner duct of the common to all, the Marquis pleading in Marquis Excuse that he was in the Pay of the Pon- of Mantiff, and a Feudatory of Cafar; nay farther, when his Term was nearly expired, he contracted with the Pontiff and the Florentines for Four Years longer, with an express Condition of not being bound to serve with his Person or State against Cæsar. In the Beginning of the War however he was defirous of going in Person into the Army, which the Pontiff not approving, because he could not rely on his Conduct, had anfwered him, that, fince he was a Feudatory of Cæfar he would not expose him to fo much Danger. Such was at that time the State of Affairs in Lombardy. In Tufcany the Florentines, tho' without Armies or Arms in their Territory, were yet fenfible of the Troubles of War by their Expences. For the Pontiff, unable to supply himself with Money by the ordinary Methods, and obstinately refusing to make VOL. IX. ufe

A. D. use of any extraordinary Ways and Means to procure it, most unmercifully laid upon them almost the whole Burden of the Expences in Lombardy. The Senefe were not Tulcany. without Molestation in their maritime Ports; for Andrea Doria, who had, at the Beginning, possessed himself of Talamone and Portercole, occasioned them to stand continually upon their Guard, tho' Talamone was not long after, by the Commander of the Garrison, restored to the Senefe. The Exiles also, at the Instigation of the Pontiff, raifed some Diffurbances in the maritime Country, in which Giampaolo, Son of Renzo da Ceri, in the Pope's Service, some Horse having surprised the Gate of the Town of Orbatello, came up himself afterwards with his Horse and Foot, and took Possession of the Place.

But at Rome happened Events of very great Moment, brought about not by Force of Anns, but by Fraud, highly difgraceful to the Pontiff, and destructive of the hopeful Situation of Affairs in Lombardy, where it was expected that, by means of the Acquisition of Cremona, the Enterprise

Genoa would be brought to an Issue, and A. D. that it would be practicable, according to the First Design, to form Two different Camps about Milan. For, after the Defeat received at Siena, the Pontiff having no Hopes of exerting his Strength for diftreffing the Colonias to any great Effect, and having turned his Thoughts on attacking with the greater Force, as was mentioned, the Kingdom of Naples, and on the other Side, the Colonnas, and the Agents of Cafar distrusting their own Abilities for performing any Thing of Moment against the Pontiff, and, defirous to annoy him, and make him lofe Time till the Arrival of the Viceroy with a Fleet from Spain, having Articles dispatched to Rome Vespasiano Colonna, on between whose Faith the Pope depended, both the Pope and the Parties had, on August 22, entered into a Colonnai: Convention, by which the Colonnas were to restore Anagnia, and the other Places they had taken; to withdraw their Troops into the Kingdom of Naples, and keep no Soldiers for the future in the Towns which they possessed within the Ecclesiastic Dominions; that they might freely ferve Cæfar against any Power in defence of the King-

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A. D. dom of Naples: On the other Part the Pontiff was to pardon all Offences; to abolish the Monitory iffued against Cardinal Colonna; and not to molest the States of the Colonnas, nor fuffer them to be molested by the Orsini. While the Pontiff thought himself secure under this Capitulation, and relied especially on the Faith of Vespasiano, he set his Heart at Rest, and unwarily disbanded his Horse, and almost all the Foot which he had levied, and ordered those few which remained into Quarters in the circumjacent Towns and Villages, and began to cool in his Project of invading the Kingdom of Naples. The frequent Complaints and Protestations which the Cæsarean Ministers residing in Rome received from Milan and Genoa, declaring that if the Progress of the Confederates was not interrupted by some powerful Diversion, those Cities could no longer support themfelves, determined them, fince they had no Means to continue an open and vigorous War, and fuch as might procure a Remedy fo quick as the Cafe required, to fet their Wits and Inventions upon the Rack

165 Rack for circumventing and oppressing the A. D. Pontiff by Subtilty and Snares.

WHILE these Traps were laying for the Pontiff, that, besides the Afflictions which he fuffered in his private Concerns, he might have Cause to afflict himself and be humbled on a public Account, News came that Solyman the Ottoman, Prince of the Turks, had in a pitched Battle defeated Lewis King of Hungary, obtaining the Lewis Victory no less by the Rashness of the King of Enemy than by his own Forces. For the Hungary Hungarians, tho' very few in Number if and flain compared with the great Multitude of the by Soly-Enemies, confiding more in the many Victories which they had heretoforegained over the Turks than in the present Condition of Affairs, perfuaded the King, young in Years, but younger still in Counsel, not to obscure the Renown, and antient military Glory of his People by waiting for the Succours which were coming from Transylvania, but to put himself on his March to meet the Enemy, and not to decline engaging in the open Field, in which the Turks, by the innumerable Multitude of their LB

1526.

their Horse, are in a manner invincible, The Event therefore was answerable to the Temerity and Imprudence of the Undertaking; the Army, which was composed of all the Nobility and valiant Men of Hungary, was defeated with a very great Slaughter, and the King himself, with many of the principal Prelates and Barons of the Kingdom perished.

FROM this Victory the Pontiff affuring himself that the Turk would endeavour to fecure to himself the whole Kingdom of Hungary, to the very great Detriment of all Christendom, of which that Kingdom had been, for a long Course of Years, the Buckler and Bulwark, was wonderfully disturbed, as new Vexations make deeper Impression on Minds already labouring under Perturbations and Afflictions, than on fuch as are void of other Passions. Revolving therefore in his Mind new Projects. and giving evident Tokens of his immense Grief in his Gestures, Speeches, and the Speech in Air of his Countenance, he called a Confistory, and in most pathetic Terms lamented to the Cardinals the vast Loss and

Pope's a Confiftory.

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Reproach

Reproach that had fallen on the Christian A. D. Commonwealth, against which he himself 1526. had not been wanting to provide, both by continually exhorting and befeeching the Christian Princes to make Peace among themselves, and, amidst so many other weighty Concerns of his own, by affifting that Kingdom with no fmall Sum of Money; that he had declared, and was very fenfible from the Beginning, that the present War happened very incommodiously and unseasonably for the Defence of that Kingdom, and of the rest of Christendom; but that fince he saw all honourable and reasonable Conditions of Quietness and Security for the Apostolic See, and for Haly despised and rejected, he had been induced by Necessity to take up Arms, contrary to what had once been his Intention; for both the Neutrality which he had observed before this Necesfity, and the Conditions of the League which he had made, all done with an Eye to the common Welfare, were sufficient to demonstrate that he was not moved by any Regard to his own private Interests, or to those of his Family; but fince L 4

A. D. fince it had pleased God, perhaps for some good End, that the Head of Christendom should be wounded, and at a Time when all the other Members of this Body were distracted with other Thoughts than such as tended to the common Benefit, he did believe it was his Will that some other Method should be fought for healing fo grievous a Disorder; and therefore, fince this Care belonged more to his pastoral Office than to any other, he was disposed, postponing all Consideration of Inconveniency, Danger, and of his own Dignity, as foon as a Suspension of Arms could on any Conditions be procured in Italy, to embark on board his Gallies, and go in Person to meet with the Christian Princes, in order to obtain of them by Persuasions, by Prayers, by Tears, an universal Peace among Christians; that he advised the Cardinals to prepare themselves for this Expedition, and to affift the common Father in so compassionate an Office; and prayed that God would be favourable to fo holy a Work, or, if, on account of the common Sins, it could not be brought to Perfection, he would at least be pleased to grant

grant him the Favour to take him off by A. D. Death, in the Midst of his Negotiations, before he faw himself excluded from all Hopes of obtaining his End, fince no greater Misfortune or Misery could befal him, than to lose all Hopes, and the Power of reaching forth a falutary Hand to affift in extinguishing so pernicious and pestiferous a Combustion. formed another Delign they giged on all

THE Proposal of the Pontiff was heard with great Attention, and with no less Compassion, and highly commended. But it would have been much more commended, if his Words had carried with them as much Credit as they had Weight and Dignity in themselves: For the major Part of the Cardinals interpreted them as flowing rather from a Sense of the Difficulties and Diffress to which he was now reduced by the War, than from Apprehensions and Commiseration of the Danger of Hungary, fince he had taken Arms against Cæsar at a Time when, from the open Preparations of the Turks, the Danger of that Kingdom was imminent and manifest. But of this, however, there

# THE HISTORY OF

A De there can be no certain Proof. For the Colonnas, entering on the Execution of their premeditated Treachery, had ordered Cefare Filleting, their Partisan, with Two Thousand Foot to Anagnia, where the Pontiff had Two Hundred Foot in Pay, with a Show, in order to conceal their Project, as if they intended to poffefs themselves of that Town, but having formed another Defign, they feized on all the Passes, and using the utmost Diligence, that no Advice of their Progress might be carried to Rome, affembled the Troops fent towards Anagnia, and with those and their other Forces, making in the whole about Eight Hundred Horse, and Three Thousand Foot, but almost all of them of the Militia, marching with great Speed, fo as to prevent all Notice of their Coming, arrived at Rome the Night before the 20th of September, and fuddenly seizing on Three Gates of the City. entered through the Gate of San Giovanni Laterano, attended in Person not only by Ascanio, and Don Ugo di Moncada, the Duke of Seffa being dead many Days before at Marino, but also by Vespasiano, who

Pope furprised by the Colonnas.

who had been the Mediator of the Agree- A. D. ment, and had folemnly engaged for himself and all the rest of his Party, and likewise by Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, so far transported with Rage and Ambition, that he had conspired to lay violent Hands on the Pontiff, defigning also, as it was the common and constant Opinion, by Arms and Violence, to force the Cardinals to elect him, and with bloody Hands, and by wicked and facrilegious Deeds to feize on the vacant Seat of the Pontiff. Clement, when it was Day, advised of their Coming, and that they were affembled about San Cosimo and Damiano, endeavoured in vain. full of Fear and Confusion, to appeale the Tumult; for he had no Forces of his own to defend himself, and the People of Rome, partly glad of his Misfortune, partly judging themselves not concerned in the public Loss, made no Sign of bestirring themselves in his Favour. Hence the Enemies, increasing in Boldness, advanced forwards, and posted themselves with all their Forces at Sant' Apostolo, from whence they detached about Five Hundred Foot, with some Horse, over the Bridge of

San

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San Sisto, to the other Side of the Tiber, A. D. who, after some Refistance, dislodging, from the Portico of San Spirito, Stefano Colonna, an Officer in the Pope's Pay, who had posted himself there with Two Hundred Foot, took their Way, through the Old Suburb, towards St. Peter's, and the Pontifical Palace. The Pope had not quitted the Palace, but imploring in vain the Affistance of God and of Man, and inclining to die in his Seat, was preparing, after the Example of Boniface VIII. under the Infult of Sciarra Colonna, to place himself, vested with the Pontifical Habit and Ornaments, in the Pontifical Chair. But the Cardinals that were about him conjuring him, if not for his own Sake, vet at least for the Safety of that Holy See, and that the Honour of God might not be fo wickedly violated in the Person of his Vicar, to remove, he was, with great Difficulty, diverted from his Purpose, and retired, together with some of those Cardinals in whom he could put most Confidence, inro the Castle, towards Noon, and at a Time when not only the Foot and Horse that came first, but also all the rest of the

173 the Troops were plundering the Palace, A. D. and the Furniture and facred Ornaments of the Church of St. Peter's, with no more Regard to the Majesty of Religion, and the Horror of Sacrilege, than the Turks had in the Churches of the Kingdom of Hungary. They afterwards entered the New Suburb, of which they plundered about a Third Part, not daring to proceed any further, for fear of the Artillery of the Caftle, sometime of direction asw

which were about Mikm to the

AFTER this the Tumult, which lasted a little more that Three Hours, being appeafed, without any Damage or Molestation to the City of Rome, Don Ugo, under the Pontiff's Faith, after receiving as Hostages for his Security the Cardinals Cibo and Ridolfi, the Pontiff's Grand Nephews, went into the Castle to confer with him, where, in Terms fuitable to a Conqueror, he proposed Conditions of a Truce. The Answer was deferred till the next Day, when was concluded an Agreement, or Truce, between the Pope Pontiff, in his own Name and that of the Truce Confederates, and Cafar, for Four Months, with CaSan Sisto, to the other Side of the Tiber, who, after some Resistance, dislodging, from the Portico of San Spirito, Stefano Colonna, an Officer in the Pope's Pay, who had posted himself there with Two Hundred Foot, took their Way, through the Old Suburb, towards St. Peter's, and the Pontifical Palace. The Pope had not quitted the Palace, but imploring in vain the Affistance of God and of Man, and inclining to die in his Seat, was preparing, after the Example of Boniface VIII. under the Infult of Sciarra Colonna, to place himself, vested with the Pontifical Habit and Ornaments, in the Pontifical Chair. But the Cardinals that were about him conjuring him, if not for his own Sake, vet at least for the Safety of that Holy See, and that the Honour of God might not be fo wickedly violated in the Person of his Vicar, to remove, he was, with great Difficulty, diverted from his Purpose, and retired, together with some of those Cardinals in whom he could put most Confidence, inro the Castle, towards Noon, and at a Time when not only the Foot and Horse that came first, but also all the rest of the

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#### THE HISTORY OF

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with two Months more for giving Notice of its Expiration \*, and Liberty for the Confederates to come into it within Two Months. In this Truce were to be included not only the Ecclefiastic State and the Kingdom of Naples, but also the Dutchy of Milan, the Florentines, the Genoese, the Senese, and the Duke of Ferrara, with all the Subjects of the Church mediate and immediate. The Pontiff was forthwith to withdraw his Troops which were about Milan to this Side of the Po, and to recall Andrea Doria with, his Gallies from the Fleet; to pardon the Colonnas, and every one who had been concerned in this Infult; to give, as Hostages for his Observance of this Truce, Filippo Strozzi, and one of the Sons of Jacopo Salviati, whom he engaged to fend to Naples, within Two Months, under the Penalty of Thirty Thousand Ducats: And, on the other fide, the Imperialifts and the Colonnas were to remove their Troops from Rome, and from the whole State of the Church, and cause them to

Confedences, and Cefae, for Four Mon

Both Parties heartily concurred in this Truce; the Pontiff, because the Castle had no Store of Provisions for his Subsistence, and Don Ugo, the against the Remonstrances of the Colonnas, because he thought he had done enough for the Benefit of Castar, and because almost all the Troops with which he had entered Rome, being loaded with Plunder, were dispersed into different Parts.

By this Truce, all the Schemes of the Allies in Lombardy were broken, and the Acquisition of Cremona rendered quite fruitless; for tho, about the same time, the Marquis of Saluzzo with the French Lances arrived in the Army, yet, for want of the Pontiss's Troops, which, pursuant to the Truce, on the Seventh of October retired for the greatest Part to Piacenza, the Design of sending Troops to Genoa, as well as the Project for straitening Milan with Two Armies, were rendered abortive. Occasion also of some Disturbance was given by the Duke of Urbino, who, as soon as the Agreement

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176 A. D. was made with the Garrison of Cremona, without waiting the Delivery of the Place, took his Way to the Mantouan, to visit his Wife, tho' he had before received Advice Urbino censured: of the Truce made at Rome; and having confented to prolong the Time for the Troops in Cremona to evacuate that Place, the Departure of the Forces employed about that City was fo long deferred, that it was the Middle of October before he

> vast Prejudice of all the Operations. For Confultations were held on fending Troops to Genoa, which was follicited with more Earnestness than ever by Pietro Navarra, and the Proveditor of the Venetian Fleet: and the Army, when rejoined by the Venetian Troops, was strong enough to spare a Detachment sufficient for that Enterprife, without being obliged to remove its

returned with them to the Army, to the

Camp: For the Marquis of Saluzzo had brought with him Five Hundred Lances. and Four Thousand Foot, and they expected every Day Two Thousand Grisons,

listed in pursuance of an Agreement made with that People; and the Pontiff, tho' he openly made a Show of his Willingness.

to observe the Truce, yet having a different Intention in reserve, had lest in the
Army Four Thousand Foot under the
Command of Giovanni de' Medici, from
a Pretence that they were in the Pay of
the King of France; an Excuse, for which
there was an apparent Colour, because that
Officer was continually in the King's Pay,
and retained the Command of a Troop of
Men at Arms under his Commission.

AT last the Troops broke up from Cremona Cremona, the Possession of which was yielded to vielded to Francesco Sforza; the Germans, with their Commander Conradino, took the Road towards Trento, but the Spanish Horse and Foot having passed the Po, in order to pursue their March to the Kingdom of Naples, and the Lieutenant making fome Difficulty to grant them Patents and a fufficient Pass, because the Pontiff did not like that they should go to Naples, on a fudden took the Road over the Mountain of Piacenza, and, after speedily repassing the Po at Chiarella, made their Way in Safety into the Lomellina, and from thence to Milan. Not only the Lieutenant broke up with the Troops of the VOL. IX. Pontiff

1526.

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Pontiff from the Walls of Milan in Observance of the Truce, but also Andrea Doria with his Gallies moved off from Genoa, out of which City a few Days before had marched Six Thousand Foot, partly in Pay, partly Volunteers, (for in Genoa were Four Thousand Men in Pay) with Orders to attack Philippino dal Fiesco, who had landed with Six Hundred Foot: but Filippino had fo well fortified himself with Entrenchments and Redoubts on the Top of a Mountain, near to Porto fino, that he constrained them to retire with confiderable Loss; but not long after Andrea Doria, with fix Gallies, returned from Porto fino, in order to continue, in conjunction with the rest, the Blockade of Genoa by Sea.

The League Casar.

Pownife

BUT in the mean time, while these Transactions passed with various Events in Italy, the Ambassadors of the Pontiss, the King of France, and the Venetians, on the Fourth of September (so long had they denotified to layed taking that Step!) intimated to Cafar the League which they had made, with the Liberty given him to enter into it on the Conditions expressed in the Articles.

.XI The

The Ambassador of the King of England, A. D. being present at this Act, delivered to him a Letter from his Master, in which he modestly advised him to enter into the League. Cæfar, after hearing the Intimation, made Answer to the Ambassa-His Ana dors, that it was inconfistent with his Dig-fwer. nity to enter into a Confederacy made principally against his State and Honour; but as he had been always very much disposed to an universal Peace, of which he had made so evident a Demonstration. he offered to accomplish one at present, if they had fufficient Commissions for that Purpose. Hence it was believed that he was really averse to a Peace, but proposed this Negotiation the better to justify himself, and to give the King of England Cause to forbear entering into the League, and, besides, to slacken by this Hope the Preparations of the Allies, and then to create some Jealousy and Distrust between them by means of this Treaty. He took care however, on the other fide, to haften the Equipment of his Fleet, which was He pregetting together in the celebrated Port of pares a Carthagena, and said to consist of Forty Fleet. Sail, and to have on board Six Thousand M 2 Foot

putting to Sea, the Viceroy set out from Court on the Twenty-sourth of September, Cæsar shewing himself much more dextrous and more diligent in Business than the King of France, who, though he was involved in Affairs of the deepest Concern, consumed the best Part of his Time in Hunting, Balls, and Entertainments of Women, while his Children, all Hopes of his observing the Agreement being vanished, had been conducted to Valladolid.

THE Coming of this Fleet constrained the Pontiff, who distrusted the Faith of the Viceroy and the Spaniards, to arm Popearms himself. Wherefore he had not only in his Decalled to Rome Vitelli with his Regiment and that of his Nephews, but also an Hundred Men at Arms from the Marquis of Mantoua, and an Hundred Light Horse from Piermaria Rosso; and from the Army were sent him Two Thousand Swiss at his own Charges, and Three Thousand Italian Foot. And yet he was continually declaring his Intentions of going into Spain,

Spain, in order to have an Interview with D. Cæfar, from which he was diffuaded by almost all the Cardinals, especially as going on an Uncertainty, and advised first to send Legates.

THE Duke of Urbino being returned to the Army, and without Hopes of obtaining Milan by Famine or Force of Arms, and the Commanders of the Fleet folliciting him with the greatest Earnestness to fend some Troops for distressing Genoa by Land, he refolved, in order to put himself in a Condition for answering that Purpose, to decamp with the Army from the Walls of Milan, but to make fuch Dispositions as should continually obstruct the Conveyance of Provisions to that City. With this View he began with fortifying Moncia, in order to leave in it a Garrison whose Business should be to molest the Convoys coming from the Mountain of Brianza and the circumjacent Places; and, after he had fortified Moncia, his Intention was to remove the Army to a Post from whence he might intercept the Provisions that were continually going from Biagraffa M 3 and

#### THE HISTORY OF

. 182 and Pavia. As foon as this Poff was for-1526. tified, the Marquis of Saluzzo, with his Foot, and a Body of Swifs, was to march towards Genoa; a Motion ardently defired by the Fleet, that City being already reduced to fuch Extremities for want of Food, as to be hardly able to subsist. But these Resolutions being of such a Nature as not to be put in Execution under a Deligns much greater Length of Time than was Duke of fuitable to the State of Affairs, and to the Necessities of Genoa, nothing now being wanted for obtaining that City but intercepting the Convoys of Provisions by Land, the Things defigned were never brought to an Issue, though there were in the Army

of the Urbino abortive.

> THE Army, at length, broke up on the last of October, from the Camp, in which

Four Thousand Swifs, Two Thousand Grisons, Four Thousand Foot under the Marquis of Saluzzo, Four Thousand, in the Pay of the Pontiff, under Giovanni de' Medici, and the Venetian Foot, which, according to their Obligations and Affirmations, were Ten Thousand, but, according to Truth, a much leffer Number.

which they had so long continued, and A. D. posted themselves at Pioltello, five Miles 1526. distant from their former Station, having in decamping had a great Skirmish with the Troops of Milan, who had fallied out with Bourbon in Person. It was the Intention of the Duke of Urbino to continue at Pioltello so long as to give Time for finishing the Fortifications of Moncia, in which he defigned to leave Two Thoufand Foot, with some Horse, and afterwards to move with the Army to Marignano, where he had refolved to make another Encampment, and after he had pitched his Camp, and fortified it, and perhaps also, as he said, first taken Biagraffa, to fend Troops to Genoa: Operations that required fo much Time as gave Cause to blame him, though he alledged, in Part of his Excuse, the bad Provisions of the Venetians, who, not paying their Foot at due Times, always fell very short of the Number which they had promised, and many of those which they had going off on deferring their Pay, they were necessitated, when they made their Payments, to replace them with M 4 new Y TO HET A

# THE HISTORY OF

184 A. D. new ones, fo that it might be faid, with an Appearance of Truth, that they had a 1526. new Soldiery, and a new Army. But this Delay, which had hitherto appeared voluntary, began to have some Cause, and Colour of Necessity. For, after many Debates held in Germany about fending Succours of Foot into Italy, which, on account of the Infufficiency of the Archduke, and beçaufe Cæfar had made no Remittances of Money, had proved fruitless, George Fronsperg, a Man heartily con-G. Fron- cerned for the Interest of Cafar, and for fpergraifes the Glory of his Nation, and who had Casar in twice, with the highest Reputation, com-Germany. manded a large Body of Foot, in the Service of Cæsar, against the French in Italy, resolving to supply the Deficiency of the Princes with his private Substance, excited, by his Authority, a Multitude of Foot, by shewing them what a fair Opportunity offered for Plunder, and enriching themselves in Italy; and having agreed with them, that, on receiving of him a Crown each Man, they should follow him to the Affistance of Cæsar, and obtained of the Archduke a Supply of Artillery

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Artillery and Horses, he prepared for the A. D. Expedition, appointing the Rendezvous of all the Troops between Bolzano and Marano.

THE Fame of these Preparations spread-Duke of ing into Italy gave Occasion to the Duke Urbino of Urbino to lay afide all Thoughts of certed. molesting Genoa, which was reduced to the last Extremity, though Andrea Doria, abating of his first Demands, insisted only on Fifteen Thousand Foot, intending to furnish the like Number himself. But the Duke denied this Request also, alledging, for his Excuse, the Necessity he was under of detaching Fifteen Thousand of the Venetian Foot for the Vicentine. from a Fear, which had feized the Venetians, that the German Succours would direct their March by that Road. This Opinion the Duke confuted, persuading himself that they would take the Way of Lecco, for which Reason he would not move from his Camp at Pioltello, that he might be nearer the Adda, publishing abroad that he defigned to march and meet them, and to give them Battle on the

ing out of the Valle di Sarfina.

THE Affairs of Lombardy thus tending to be involved in new and greater Difficulties, a new Combustion was also kindled in the City of Rome: For the Pontiff, under a Consternation of Mind from the Infult of the Colonnas, and inclining to Peace, and to fail with the Fleet to Barcelona, in order to treat in Person with Cafer on an Accommodation, had, as foon as the Enemies had quitted Rome, fent Paolo d' Arezzo, of his Bedchamber, to the King of France, to obtain his Confent for his Paffage to Cæsar, in order to negotiate a Peace, and also to represent to the King his Necessities, and his Dangers, and to demand of him an Hundred Thousand Ducats to enable him to defend himself. In these Matters he was so inconsistent with himself, that, while he wanted Money of the King, and a greater Alacrity to the War, he not only denied him the Tenths, infifting on Half for himself, which the King rejected, faying, it was never the Custom in France, but also could

Pope's inconfiftent Conduct.

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could not prevail with himself to advance A. D. to the Purple the Great Chancellor, who, by his Authority in the King's Councils, and because all the Dispatches of Money passed through his Hands, might have been of very great Service to him in all his Defigns. The King did not fail to condole, with Paolo and the other Nuncios, the Misfortune of Rome, and to offer the Pontiff every thing for his Defence, to convince him that he could no longer put any Confidence in Cæfar, to encourage him, and to perfuade him to break off the Truce, in which Cafe, he faid, and not otherwise, he was willing to pay the Twenty Thousand Ducats each Month, as he had engaged. He was advised to the same Purpose by the King of England, who also diffuaded him from going to Barcelona, and had before, on the first Notice of the Accident at Rome, fent him Twenty-five Thousand Ducats. The King of France disfuaded the Pope's Going to the Princes, as a Step which, for its Importance, deserved much Confideration: And at first he refused Leave to Paolo to proceed to Cæfar, either because

A. D. he had a Suspicion that the Pontiff would begin a separate Negotiation with him, or because, as he faid, it was more honourable to treat of a Peace by the Mediation of the King of England, than feem to beg it of Casar. However, not long afterwards, on new Instances made from Rome for his Going, he confented to it, either because he really defired Peace, or because he began to dislike to have it negotiated by the King of England, whose Proceedings were fuch as gave him just Reason to doubt that, for his own particular Interest, he would draw him into inconvenient and difadvantageous Conditions, fince that King, or rather the Cardinal of York, under his Name, full of Ambition, and defirous to be Judge of every thing, proposed extravagant Condiditions, and, having also different Ends from those of the others, would suffer him to be over-reached by Cafar, and would not be forry that the Dutchy of Milan should. by means of the Peace, be given to the Duke of Bourbon, provided he were to espouse Casar's Sister, that so he might ayad to preceed to have

have free Power ro marry his own Daugh- A. D. ter to the King of France \*.

THE Persuasion therefore which the two Kings used with the Pontiff, the Fear of losing his Confederates, and, being deprived of their Support, of becoming a Prey to Cafar and his Ministers, the Stimulation of his own Counfellors themfelves, the Indignation he had conceived against the Colonnas, and his Desire, by taking a just Vengeance of them, to recover, in some measure, his lost Honour, induced him to turn those Forces against the Towns of the Colonnas which he had before called to Rome only for his own Security; judging that no Reason obliged him to observe that Agreement, which he had made not voluntarily, but deceived by their Frauds, and forced, with a Breach of Faith, by their Arms. The Pontiff then. fent Vitello with his Troops to do all the Pope falls. Mischief he could to the Colonnas, design-upon rhe ing to burn and level all their Towns, because, on account of the inveterate Affection of the People and of the Party, the Taking

<sup>\*</sup> Cæsar's Sister Eleanora had been promised to the Duke of Bourbon, but by the Treaty of Madrid she was to be married to the King of France.

4. D. Taking of them only was of little Preju-1526. dice. At the same time he published a Monitory against the Cardinal and others of his Family, by Virtue of which he afterwards deprived the Cardinal of the Dignity of the Cardinalship. That Prelate, feeking to defend himfelf with the Bill of Simony, had before published Appeals in Naples, and appealed to a future Council. Against the other Colonnas, who were lifting Horse and Foot in the Kingdom of Naples, the Pontiff superseded his Pronunciation of the Sentence. The Troops entered their Territories, and burnt Marino and Montefortino, but their Castles still held out for the Colonnas. They laid even with the Ground Gallicano and Tagarolo, the Colonnas chusing to defend only the strongest Places, and especially the Town of Palliano, strong by its Situation, which renders it difficult to bring Cannon before it, and accessible only by three Ways, of which one cannot fuccour another, it had also a very thick Wall, and the Men of the Place were very well disposed to defend it. It is however believed of ballimore and both america softe dens that

Date of Seacher, but by the Treaty of March As

to be married to the King of France. :

that if Vitello had marched with Speed A. D. to attack it, though many Inhabitants of the Towns that were taken had fled thither for Refuge, he would have made himself Master of it, because there were no regular Troops in the Place. But while he delayed to march thither, agreeably to his natural Disposition, which made every thing appear to him full of Difficulties and Dangers when it came to be put in Execution, Five Hundred German and Spanish Foot, ordered thither from the Kingdom of Naples, and Two Hundred Horse entering the Town in the Night, rendered the Enterprise fo difficult, that Vitello, who at that time kept his Troops about Grotta ferrata, thought no more of attacking Palliano, nor yet Rocca di Papa, but, after fending some Troops to erect a Battery against the Castle of Montefortino, in which the Colonnas had a Garrison, resolved to assemble his whole Force at Valmontone, rather to cover the Country from an Invafion on the Side of the Kingdom of Naples, than with Hopes of performing any thing of Moment.

A. D. 1526.

This Conduct procured Vitello sufficient Blame from the Pontiff, who, at this Time when he had defigned to attack the Kingdom of Naples, and afterterwards when he called the Troops to Rome for his Defence, was defirous to employ in that Expedition Vitello and Giovanni de' Medici, Generals united in the Bonds of Friendship and Kindred, in whom the Coldness and Remissiness of one feemed proper to moderate and be moderated by the Heat and Fierceness of the other. But Giovanni being drawn by the Fates to an untimely Death in Lombardy, the Pontiff had, by the Counsel of the Lieutenant, served himself in the mean time, in lesser Concerns, of Vitello, and delayed to call the other till he had an Occasion, either of greater Necessity, or for a greater Enterprise, that he might not, during that Time, deprive the Army of a Man, who, by his Courage and Valour, was a Terror to Enemies, and a Safeguard to Friends; and the more because of the hot Reports of the Coming of the German Foot, which, with the Advices

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Advices that the Spanish Armada was on the Point of sailing from the Port of Carthagena, constrained the Pontiff, who was also greatly stimulated by the Confederates Advised to an Acand by his own Council, to think of mak-commoning some Composition, to which he had with the been always very averse, with the Duke Duke of of Ferrara, not to much to secure himself Ferrara. from his Movements, as to draw from him a great Sum of Money, and to induce him to put himself at the Head of the Army in quality of Captain General of the whole Forces.

THE Pontiff, after many Debates on this Subject with Matteo Cafella of Faenza, the Duke's Ambassador, commissioned his Lieutenant, who was at Parma, to repair to Ferrara, giving him in Show a Brief with very ample Powers, but restraining his Commission to the consenting to reposes the Duke of Modena and Reggio, in Consideration of receiving from him in a short time Two Hundred Thousand Ducats; to oblige him to declare himself and act in the Army as General of the League, and to consent that his eldest Son should Vol. IX.

# THE HISTORY OF

A. D. take to Wife Caterina, the Daughter of Lorenzo de' Medici; and to try also if it were practicable to procure another Match between a Daughter of the Duke, with a competent Dowry, and Ippolito de' Medici, Son of the late Giuliano. There were many more Instructions, which were not only in a manner inextricable in themselves from the Shortness of the Time, but also the Pontiff, who had not condescended to them but out of the last Necessity, had charged him to come to no perfect Conclusion about them without fresh Advices and Commission. This Commission was a few Days after enlarged, both in the Instructions and in the Power of concluding, because the Pontiff had Advice that the Viceroy was arrived in the Bay of San Firenze in Corfica with Two and Thirty Ships, having on board Three Hundred Horse, Two Thousand Five Hundred German Foot, and between Three and Four Thou-It miscar-fand Spanish Foot. But the Will of the Pontiff now became of no Signification, for aboard the same Fleet was an Agent of the Duke of Ferrara, who, being difpatched from the faid Place with great Diligence,

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195 A. D. 1526.

ligence, not only gave the Duke Advice of the Arrival of the Fleet, but also brought with him from Cafar the Investiture of Modena and Reggio, with a verbal Promise of giving in Marriage Margaret of Austria, natural Daughter of Cafar, to Ercole, the Duke's eldest Son. On these Accounts Alfonso, who before was in longing Expectation of the Coming of the Lieutenant, changing his Mind, imagining also that, by the Approach of the Germans and of the Armada, Affairs were taking a very favourable Turn for Cæsar, notified, by his Counsellor Jacopo Alverotto of Padoua, to the Lieutenant, who had fet out from Parma, and was got as far as Cento, the Dispatches he had received from Spain, by which, tho' he was not obliged to act offensively against the Pontiffor the League, yet, having received fo much Kindness from Cæsar, it was not fit to treat any more about acting against him; and that a Stop being, by this means, put to the Negotiation for the Sake of which he was coming to Ferrara, he had thought fit to fignify it to him, left his Silence should give just Cause of Anger to the Pontiff, nor forbid-

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ding however his Proceeding to Ferrara, 1526. but leaving it to his Choice whether he would come or not.

THE Lieutenant, convinced by this Declaration that his Journey would be fruitless, was not willing any longer to interest the Reputation of the Pontiff in a Treaty without Hopes of Success, and recalled also by the necessitous Condition of the Affairs of Lombardy, after proposing a new Scheme of Agreement, immediately returned to Modena. The whole State of the Church on that Side became every Day more exposed to Danger; for George against the Fronsperg, with the German Foot, to the Number of between Thirteen and Fourteen Fronsperg. Thousand, having taken the Road that lies through the Valley of Sabbio, and by the Castle of Anfo, towards Salo, was now arrived at Castiglione dello Strivieri in the Mantouan. To oppose this new Invader, the Duke of Urbino, who, in order to be in a Readiness to march and nieet him. had conducted the Army to Vauri on the Adda between Trezzo and Cassano, and thrown a Bridge there, and fortified that Post, THILL

Duke of Urbino marches Germans under

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Post, leaving in it the Marquis of Saluzzo with the French, Swiss, Grisons, and his own Foot, took his March on the Nineteenth of November from Vauri, accompanied by Giovanni de' Medici at the Head of Six Hundred Men at Arms, and by a great Number of Light Horse, and between Eight and Nine Thousand Foot, defigning not to attack the Germans directly in the Field, but to infest them, and incommode their Convoys of Provisions, which, he faid, was the only Way, by creating some Diforder among them, to overcome fuch firm and well disciplined Troops. On the Twenty-first headvanced to Sonzino, whence he detached Mercurio with all the Light Horse, and a Squadron of Men at Arms, to infest them, and to give Time to the Army to come up with them, being apprehenfive, because they were that same Day encamped at Cavriana, that he should arrive too late, laying the Blame of his Slowness and Delay in setting out from Vauri on the Negligence and Avarice of the Proveditor Pifani, which had necessitated him to stop a Day or two the longer in expectation of Oxen for drawing the Artillery;

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# THE HISTORY OF

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A. D.

the Want of which, he faid, was afterwards the Cause of very great Disorders, and in a manner the Ruin of the whole Enterprise. It had hitherto been doubtful which Way the Germans intended to direct their Course; for it was at first believed that they would take their March through the Brescian and Bergamese towards the Adda, with a Defign to give an Opportunity to the Imperial Troops to meet and join them, and then to proceed in Company with them to Milan. Afterwards it was apprehended that their Intention was to pass the Po at Casalmaggiore, and from thence to take the Road to Milan. But being, on the Twenty-second Day, advanced to Rivalta, Eight Miles distant from Mantoua, between the Mincio and the Oglio, the same Day the Duke encamped at Prato Albuino, and not having passed the Mincio at Goito, it was taken for a Sign that they were refolved to pass the Po at Borgoforte or Viadana, rather than at Oflia, or in Places lower down the River; and if they passed Oftia they would probably take the Road to Modena and Bologna, in both which Places Levies were making of Foot, besides other

other Provisions. The Germans, on the 1526. Twenty-fourth, took their March to Borgoforte, where, having brought no Artillery with them, arrived Four Falconets, fent them, by the Po, from the Duke of Ferrara; an Affiftance small in itself, but very great in its Confequence by the Kindness of Fortune; for the Duke of Urbino, being on his March after them, and entered into the Seraglio \* of Mantoua, which they had not yet quitted, Giovanni de' Medici with the Light Horse came up with their Rear as they approached Borgoforte, tho' with little Hopes of Advantage, and approaching them the more boldly, because he knew they had no Cannon, they fired from one of the Falconets, and at the Second Discharge the Ball struck and broke the Leg of Giovanni de' Medici a little above the Knee, of which Wound, being car-Deathand ried to Mantoua, he died a few Days after, Character to the very great Detriment of the Under-wanni de! taking, in which the Enemy had never Medici. dreaded any Arms but those of Giovanni: For tho' he was but a young Man, of Twenty-NA

<sup>\*</sup> A pleasant District of the Mantouan so called. See she larger Maps of Lombardy.

Twenty-nine Years of Age, and of a very fierce Courage, his Experience and Abilities were fuperior to his Years, and the Fervor of Youth every Day becoming more moderate, and many express Indications of Industry and Counsel appearing in him, it was expected for certain that he would foon attain the Character of a most famous and accomplished General in the military Art. The Germans after this continued their March, without any farther Molestation, by the Way of Ostia, along the Po, the Duke of Urbino being at Borgoforte. On the Twenty-eighth they paffed the Po at Ofia, and encamped at Rovere, where they were affisted with a Sum of Money by the Duke of Ferraro, and fome more Field Pieces, Bologna and all Tuscany being in a terrible Consternation. For the Duke of Urbino, tho' he had constantly declared before that if they passed the Po he would also pass that River, was marched to Mantoua, faying that he would wait there for Orders from the Venetian Senate whether he were to pass the Po or not. But the Germans, after passing the River Secchia, took the Road of Lombardy,

bardy, in order to join the Forces that were in Milan.

A. D. 1526.

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AT this time the Viceroy, putting off Casar's from Corfica with Five and Twenty Sail, Fleet enfor Two of his Ships were cast away in a with that Storm before he arrived at San Firenze, and Confede-Five others were separated from the rest rates. and dispersed, met off Sestri di Levante the Fleet of the League, confisting of Six Gallies of the King of France, Five of the Pope, and Five of the Venetians. The Two Fleets engaged off Codemonte for Two Hours while it was Light, and Doria wrote that they had funk a Ship of theirs with above Three Hundred Men, and had greatly endamaged their whole Fleet with their Cannon, and that the Gallies had been forced by the rough Weather to retire under the Mount of Portofino; that they expected the same Night some other Gallies which lay at Porto Venere, but, whether they came or not, they would at Break of Day go in Search of the Enemy. But tho' they pursued their Fleet as far as Livorno they could not come up with it because it was several Miles a-head of them.

A. D. for as they had imagined it would make 1526. for Corfica or Sardinia, they had not prepared to give Chace to it. The Viceroy afterwards purfued his Voyage, but met with bad Weather, which dispersed his Fleet, Part of which, with Don Ferrando Gonzaga, bore away for Sicily, from whence it afterwards passed over to Gaeta, and landed some German Foot, and the Viceroy, with the rest of the Armada, arrived at the Port of Santo Stefano, from whence, having no certain Accounts of the present Circumstances of Affairs, he dispatched to the Pontiff at Rome the Commendatary Pignalofa with Instructions expressive of the good Dispositions of Casar, and he himself, as soon as the Sea permitted, failed away and arrived with the Fleet at Gaeta.

Motions In the mean time the German Foot of the Ger-having passed the Secchia, and pursued their March toward Razzuolo and Gonzaga, encamped the Third of December at Gua-stalla, the Fourth at Castelnuovo and Povi, Ten Miles from Parma, where they were joined by the Prince of Orange, who was come

come from Mantoua with Two Companies in the Habit of a simple Harquebusier. On the Fifth they passed the River Lenzo at the Bridge on the main Road, and encamped at Montechiarucoli, the Duke of Urbino, without any Concern for the prefent Danger, still paffing his Time at Mantoua with his Wife. On the Seventh the Germans passed the River Parma, and encamped at the Hill of Felina; the Weather was rainy, and the Rivers swelled. By intercepted Letters of General George to the Duke of Bourbon, he feemed very irrefolute on what was to be done. On the Eleventh Day they passed the Taro, and the next Day encamped at Borgo a San Donnino, where they gave a Specimen of the Lutheran Venom against Sacred Things. and the Images of the Saints. From Firenzuola, where they encamped on the Thirteenth, as it appeared by intercepted

Letters, they follicited the Forces in Milan to come and join them. These Troops were very willing to comply with their Desire, but were retained by the Want of Money; for the Spaniards threatened that they would not march out of Milan, if

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1526.

A. D. they were not paid their Arrears, and began already to plunder. But at last they were with Difficulty persuaded by the Generals to agree on receiving their Pay by five Payments, for which it was neceffary to strip the Churches of their Plate, and to imprison many of the Citizens. As fast as the Soldiers were paid off they were fent away to Pavia, though with very great Difficulty, for they were very loth to leave Milan: And thefe Things requiring Time, fome Italian Horse and Foot were in the mean while detached to join the Germans on the other Side the Po.

Duke of Urbine Truffrates the Coun-Lieutemant.

THE Lieutenant had made Instances that, for the Security of the State of the Church on that Side, the Duke of Ursel of the bino should pass the Po with the Venetian Troops. But the Duke had not only delayed, fometimes faying that he waited for Advice of the Will of the Venetians, fometimes alledging other Reasons, but represented to the Senate that it was to be feared, if he should pass the Po, that the Imperialists would fall upon their Dominions:

minions; on which they ordered him not A. D. to pass: And, what is more to be regarded on the same Account, he had several Days detained the Foot which had been commanded by Giovanni de' Medici when follicited by the Lieutenant to pals the Po for the Defence of the Possessions of the Church. Moreover the Marquis of Saluzzo having, on the Sollicitations of the Lieutenant for Succours, passed the Adda, to which he was also induced because, the Swifs and Grison Infantry being diminished, he thought himself too weak in his Camp at Vauri, the Venetians, who had before confented that the Marquis should pass the Po to the Relief of the Pontiff with Ten Thousand Foot between Swiss and his own Troops, which were paid by them with the Forty Thousand Ducats of the King of France (the Care of the Receipts and Disbursements of which, after the Pontiff had made the Truce, being intrusted with them, there was a Suspicion, which was afterwards much increased, that they had converted some Part of it to the Payment of their own Troops) moved afterwards by the Perfuafions

A. D. fuafions of the Duke of Urbino, intreated him not to pass; and therefore the Duke having, for that Purpose, appointed a Conference with him at Sonzino, fo long delayed his Coming that the Marquis went away: However, he not only used all his Endeavours to cause him to stop, that he might the better inform himfelf of the Motions of the Germans, but also openly advised him not to pass the River. Another Cause that retarded the Marquis was, that Money was not in Readiness for the Payments of the Swiss, who were Six Thousand in Number according to the Lists, but scarce above Four Thousand estective Men. But though, for these Reasons, he deferred his Passage till the Twenty-feventh of December, he fent however Part of the French Cavalry, with fome Foot, to post themselves in different Parts of the Country, for disturbing the Conveyance of Victuals to the Germans, who had rested many Days at Firenzuola. For the same Purpose was Guido Vaina fent with an Hundred Light Horse to Borgo a San Donnino, and Paolo Luzzasco with a good Body of Horse had marched

out of Piacenza, and approached Firenzuola, from whence Part of the Germans, of for the more conveniently supplying themfelves with Provisions, were gone to encamp at the Castle of Arqua.

THE Apprehensions from these Troops had before given Occasion for providing Piacenza, but not with fuch a Force as feemed requisite, because the Lieutenant, Lieutewho had always, after the Coming of the cret Reso-Germans, been apprehensive that the Diffi-lution. culty of making a Progress in Lombardy would force the Imperialists to pass into Tuscany, was desirous that they would venture to lay Siege to Piacenza. For this Reason, which was unknown to any, even to the Pope himself, he delayed to provide Piacenza so far as to give Hopes to the Enemy that it might be taken, making fuch Provisions, however, as would render its Acquisition difficult, and hoping that, if it should be besieged, he should find Means to relieve it. But the long Stay of the Germans in the neighbouring Places, every one crying out as in Pain for the Danger of that City, forced him

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A. D. 1526. A. D 1526. him at last to consent that Count Guido Rangone should repair thither with a good Body of Troops, whither also, by an Order of the Venetians, who had promised, for relieving the Pope's Necessities, to reinforce the Garrison with a Thousand Foot, was detached Babbone di Naldo, one of their general Officers, with the said Number, but by the bad Payments they were soon diminished to Four Hundred.

Motions of the Confederate and German Forces.

THE Marquis of Saluzzo at last passed the Po, but with no more than Four Thousand between Swifs and Grisons, and Three Thousand Foot of his own, and being advanced to Pulesine, though he was desired to keep that Post as commodious for infesting the Camp at Firenzuola, whither Luzzasco made frequent Excursions, yet he retired for his greater Security to Torricella and Sissa. But two Days after the Germans decamped from Firenzuola, and removed to Carpineta and the circumjacent Places. The Design of the Duke of Bourbon was not yet known, whether to besiege Piacenza directly on

his

209 his March out of Milan, or to proceed A. D. 1926. forwards towards Tuscany. On the last Day of the Year the Germans crossed the Nura in order to pass the Trebbia, and there wait for Bourbon, it being a Quarter less infested by the Enemy.

In this cold Situation of the Affairs of Lombardy, proceeding not so much from the very severe Season of the Year, as from the Difficulty under which Bourbon laboured of paying the Troops, hence the Milanese were wonderfully vexed and tormented for Provision of Money. On account of this Necessity Gieronimo Morone, who was condemned to Death, the Night before the Morning appointed for his Execution compounded for Twenty Thoufand Ducats, for which Purpose a Design had been pretended to cut off his Head. On Payment of this Money being fet at Liberty, by the Vivacity of his Parts, from Moronerea Prisoner of the Duke of Bourbon he soon leased by became his Counsellor, and in the Space of Bourof a few Days in a manner his absolute bon. Governor.

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1526.

THERE was much Treating between the Pontiff and the Viceroy of a Truce, or a Peace; but the truer and more substantial Defign of the Viceroy was to make War, to which he was animated, fince his Arrival at Gaeta, by the Encouragements of the Colonnas, and by understanding that the Pontiff, quite exhausted of Spirits and Money, was ardently defirous of an Agreement, publishing to every one his Poverty and his Fear, and yet could not be perfuaded to make a Creation of Cardinals for raifing of Money, as all advised him, which increased the Boldness and Hopes of those who defigned to attack him. For the Pontiff, who had not entered into the War with a fuitable Conftancy of Mind, had written, as far back as the Twenty-Pope's In. fixth of June, to Casar a Brief in sharp Terms, and full of Complaints, in which he excuses himself as necessitated by him to take up Arms. But imagining, after he had dispatched it, that he had been too tharp, he immediately wrote another in milder Terms, ordering Baldassarre da Casliglione, his Nuncio, to keep the first, which was arrived before, and had been presented.

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presented. The other Letter was afterwards A. D. delivered, and Casar answered separately, tho' in one and the same Dispatch, each of these Letters according to its Contents; the sharp Letter had a sharp Answer, and the meek one as meek a Return.

HE had hearkened to the General of the Franciscans, who, on his Departure from Rome for Spain when the War broke out, had been charged by the Pope with a kind Meffage to Cæfar, and being just returned to Rome with a Commission from Casar, had made an ample Report of his good Overtures Disposition, and that he would be content from Car to come into Italy with Five Thousand far. Men, and, after taking the Crown of the Empire, would immediately pass into Germany to give Orders concerning the Affair of Luther, without mentioning a Council; that he was willing to agree with the Venetians on honourable Conditions; to nefer to Two Arbitrators, appointed by the Pope and himself, the Cause of Francesco Sforza, and, if Sforza should be condemned, to give the State of Milan to the Duke of Bourbon; to remove his Army out of Italy,

A. D. the Pope and the Venetians paying him three hundred thousand Crowns for satisfying their Arrears, which however they might treat on reducing to a more moderate Sum; to restore the King his Children, on receiving of him, at two or more Terms, Two Millions of Gold. He shewed that it was easy to accommodate Matters with the King of England, because there was no great Sum in Dispute between them, and the King of France had offered to pay it. For entering into a Treaty on these Overtures, all which the Pontiff communicated to the French and Venetian Ambassadors, he offered a general Truce for Eight or Ten Months, faying that he had full Powers from Cæsar for himself, and for the Viceroy, or Don Ugo.

How received by tiff, after giving an Audience to Pignalofa,
the Allies, understanding that the Viceroy was sailed
from the Port of Santo Stefano, sent the
General to Gaeta to treat with him. For
neither would the Venetians have refused
the Truce, if made with the Concurrence
of the King of France, who had not shown
himself

himself averse to it; and besides his Mother had fent to Rome Lorenzo Toscano, shewing an Inclination to an Agreement in which all should be comprehended. And as he imagined that no Negotiation could well affure itself of Success without the Consent of Bourbon, he fent to him, for the same Purpofes, one of his own Almoners, who was at Rome, whom the Duke foon after fent back to the Pontiff, to affift in the Treaty; not defisting however from carrying on at the same Time his warlike Operations, he deputed Cardinal Agostino Trivulzio his Legate to the Army in the Campagna, and made Preparations also to attack the Kingdom of Naples by Sea.

On the Third of December arrived at Civita Vecchia Pietro Navarra, with Twenty-eight Gallies of the Pontiff, French, and Venetians; and about the same Time put into Savona, with a Fleet of Ships of War\*, Renzo da Ceri, sent by Armata the King of France to affist in the Expedition designed against the Kingdom of Naples. On the other side Ascanio Colonna, with Two Thousand Foot, and Three O3 Hundred

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### THE HISTORY OF

Actions of the Colonnas.

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Hundred Horse, came to Valbuona, Fifteen Miles from Tiboli, where are feated the Towns of the Abbot of Farfa, and of Gianjordano: With these Forces on the Twelfth of December he took Cepperano, which had no Garrison; Vitello, on the other hand, with the Troops of the Pontiff, drew together between Tiboli, Pale-Arina, and Velletri. After this the Colonnas took Pontecorvo, where was no Garririson, and gave a fruitless Assault to Scarpa, a Castle belonging to the Abbey of Farfa, a small and weak Place. Then Cafar Filettino, with Fifteen Hundred Foot, in the Night, approached Alagnia, into which Five Hundred of his Men being fecretly introduced, by some Men of the Town, through a House contiguous to the Wall. were repulsed and driven out by Gian Lione da Fano, who commanded the Troops of the Pontiff in that Place.

Viceroy's The General of the Franciscans now rehaughty Demands turned from the Viceroy, and reported that he would consent to a Truce for some Months, that a Peace might in the mean time be negotiated; but that he demanded Money,

Money, and the Fortresses of Ostio and Ci-vita vecchia for Security. But, in contradiction to his Account, the Archbishop of Capoua, who arrived at Gaeta after his Departure, and perhaps was sent thither by the evil Counsel of the Pontiss, wrote that the Viceroy would have no Truce but with the Pontiss alone, or with the Pontiss and Venetians, on paying him Money for maintaining the Army to secure the Peace, and then he would treat about a Truce with the rest; either because he had really changed his Mind, or, as many doubted, through the Persuasions of the Archbishop.

being arrived at Cæsar's Court with Credentials from the Pontiff, the Venetians, and Francesco Sforza, whither also the King of England, for the same Purpose of Peace, would have the Auditor of the Chamber repair, because the King of France had also an Agent there before, found him altered in his Resolutions on Advice of the Arrival of the Germans, and of the Fleet proposes in Italy. Revoking therefore the Condiharder tions before proposed, he demanded that ons.

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A. D. the King of France should observe in all Points the Convention of Madrid, and that the Cause of Francesco Sforza should be examined in a judicial Way by Judges appointed by himself. Thus did the Intentions of Cafar receive Alterations from the Successes of Affairs, and the Instructions given by him to his Ministers in Italy, on account of the Distance of Place, included either an express or a tacit Condition of being managed according to the Variety of Times and Occasions. The Viceroy, therefore, after feveral Days deluding the Pontiff with empty Negotiations, and not chusing to confent to a Sufpension of Arms for a few Days till the Issue of the Debate was known, set out the Twentieth on his March from Naples towards the State of the Church, proposing new and extravagant Conditions of Agreement.

On the last Day of the Year followed the Capitulation of the Duke of Ferrara, concluded by an Ambassador of his with the Viceroy, and with Ugo, who had a Commission from Casar, the little to the Satisfaction

he

Satisfaction of that Ambassador, who was A. D. in a manner constrained by the Viceroy 1526. with Menaces and sharpWords to consent: That the Duke of Ferrara should be Articles of obliged to ferve with his Person and his Capitula-State against every Enemy of Cæsar: tween That he should be Cæsar's Captain General the Duke in Italy, and have the Command of One of Ferrara Hundred Men at Arms, and Two Hundred Light Horse, but with an Obligation to furnish them out with his own Money, which was to be repaid, or allowed in his Accounts: That for the Dowry of the Natural Daughter of Cæsar promised to his Son he should receive at present the Town of Carpi, and the Fortress of Novi, formerly belonging to Alberto Pio; but that the Revenues, till the Confummation of the Matrimony, should be compensated by his Stipends, and that Vespasiano Colonna, and the Marquis del Guasto, should renounce the Right which they claimed to these Places: That as soon as he should recover Modena he should pay Two Hundred Thousand Ducats, but computing in the Number those which he had paid the Viceroy after the Battle of Pavia; but if

A. D. he should not recover Modena, the Money which he had before disbursed was to be repaid him: That Cæsar should be obliged to his Protection, and should not be at Liberty to make Peace without comprehending him in it, by procuring from the Pontiss Absolution from the Censures and Penalties incurred since he had declared himself a Confederate of Cæsar; and should use all his Endeavours to obtain it for those incurred before. Thus ended the Year 1526 with Preparations on all hands for an open and vigorous War.

The End of the SEVENTEENTH BOOK.



# Francesco Guicciardini's

# HISTORY

OF

# The WARS in ITALY.

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B O O K XVIII.

### THE CONTENTS.

Duke of Bourbon leaves Milan, and, diverted from the Siege of Piacenza, marches towards Tuscany. Viceroy and Colonnas at War with the Pope, who invades the Kingdom of Naples. Bourbon leads his Army to Rome, is killed in assaulting it, but his Forces enter, sack it, and make the Pope and many Cardinals Prisoners. This occasions a Revolution in Florence. Pope capitulates. King of England declares against Cæsar. Lautrech, General of the Confederates, takes and sacks

### THE HISTORY OF

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facks Pavia, and after many Successes leads bis victorious Army before Naples.

A. D.

1527.

T of most atrocious, and for seve
ral Ages unheard of Events; as,
Changes of States, Captivity of Princes,
Sackings of Cities in a most shocking
Manner, a great Scarcity of Provisions,
and a raging Pestilence spreading itself in
a manner over all Italy, where nothing
was to be seen but Death, Flight and
Rapine.

The Beginning of these Calamities was retarded by nothing but the Difficulty which the Duke of Bourbon found in causing the Spanish Foot to leave their Quarters, and march out of Milan. For it had been concerted that Antonio da Leva shoul remain for the Desence of the Dutchy of Milan, with all the German Foot that were there before, in whose Maintenance was expended all the Money collected from the Milanese, besides the Sums received on the Bills which the Duke of Bourbon had brought from Spain,

and

and with 1200 Spanish Foot, and a cer- A. D. tain Number of Italian Foot under Lodo- 1527vico da Belgiojoso and other Chiefs, who having no Pay of Cæfar, but supporting themselves by Customs and Contributions, and making free with the Houses and Women of the Milanese, were pleased with fitting still after so licentious a Manner. But as these Troops could not directly refuse, they demanded to be first fatisfied for their Arrears to that Inflant of Time. At last however they promised to follow the Orders of the Duke, on re-Duke of ceiving from him five Pays; but it was Bourbon very difficult to provide them, neither out of Mi-Menaces, nor Seizure of Goods, nor Im-lan. prisonment being sufficient to draw Money from the Milanese, whither, for Subfistence of the Army, the Absent were also summoned, and the Goods of those who did not appear given to the Soldiers.

At last, all Difficulties surmounted, Motions the Imperial Troops, on the last Day but of the Armies. one of January, passed the River Po; and the next Day, Part of the Germans, who had

A. D. had before passed the Trebbia, repassed it, and wenr to post themselves at Ponte nuovo. The rest of the Army halted beyond Piacenza, under the Observation of the Marquis of Saluzzo, who was at Parma, with all his Troops extended through the Country: And the Duke of Urbino, being advanced to Cafal maggiore, the Venetians having referred the Passage of the Po to his Discretion, began to pass over his Troops, declaring that, if the Imperialifts, according to his Advices from Milan, took their Way towards Tuscany, he would pass in Person with 600 Men at Arms, 9000 Foot, and 500 Light Horse, and be at Bologna before them; as would also the Marquis of Saluzzo, with his own Forces, and those of the Church.

> The Imperial Army stayed about twenty Days, fometimes on this Side fometimes beyond Piacenza, detained partly by the Difficulty of Money, the Germans having as yet received none of the Duke of Bourbon, and partly because the Duke had an Inclination to lay Siege to Piacenza, perhaps more for the Diffi-

culty

culty of proceeding forwards than for any A. D. other Reason. Wherefore he sollicited, the Duke of Ferrara to furnish him with Powder for the Artillery, and to put himfelf on his March to join him, offering to fend 500 Men at Arms, and General George with 6000 Foot to meet him. To this Demand the Duke answered that it wasimpossible to fend him Powder through the Enemy's Country, and that he could not attempt to join him without Danger, because all the Forces of the League were in the Neighbourhood: But, supposing Duke of all this to be easy, Bourbon ought to con-Ferrara counsels fider that he could not do the Enemies Bourbons a greater Service, and which they more defired, than to lose Time in busying himself about those Towns one after another; and to know that if he should not take Piacenza, or should perhaps take it, but after a long Time, what would become of his Reputation, or by what Ways and Means the War could be profecuted, under so great a Want of Money and of all other Provisions: That the only Way to Victory, and to do Service to Cæfar, was to advance towards the Head, and, laying

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A. D. laying aside all other Enterprises, to march at once to Bologna, where he might refolve either on making an Attempt to force that Town, for which his Assistance should not be wanting, or on pursuing his March towards Florence or Rome.

Proceed- During these Debates, and while Bourings of the
Warin the bon, was providing Money not only to
Ecclesiasti-pay off the Remainder of what was due
cal State. to the Spaniards, but also to give some-

to the Spaniards, but also to give something to the Germans, among whom, at their Departure from Piacenza, he distributed two Crowns for each Man, the War went on briskly in the State of the Church, Renzo da Ceri being newly arrived from France in the Ecclefiastical Camp, which was near to the Camp of the Viceroy, who was in the Neighbourhood of Cepperano, where some Foot of the Italians routed 300 Spaniards. But there was a Variety of Opinions on the Method to be taken for the Defence of the Ecclefiastical State; Vitello had, before the Coming of Renzo, advised the Pontiff to abandon the Province of Campagna, and to put 2000 Foot into Tiboli,

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proposes

as many into Palestrina, and to post the A. D. rest of the Army at Velletri, to prevent the Vicerov from marching to Rome. A Resolution being taken according to this Advice, Renzo, on his Arrival, condemned the Disposal of the Troops within Velletri, because it was a large Town, and not eafy to be fortified, and because it left the Enemy at liberty to proceed too far. But his Advice was to post the Army at Ferentino, where not being so many Places to guard, it would be stronger and more compact, and it was a Place convenient for stopping the Enemy from advancing any further. This Counsel was approved, and a Ceffation a Garrison was placed in Frusolone, the Refidence of the Lieutenant of Campagna, fix Miles from Ferentino, of 1800 Foot of those of the late Giovanni de' Medici, most of which went by the Name of the Black Bands, with Alessandro Vitello, Giovambattista Savello, and Pietro da Birago, Officers of Light Horse.

BUT while this passed, the Colonnas had Abbot of fecretly induced Napolione Orfino, Abbot Farfa of Farfa, to take up Arms in the Territory to Prifon. VOL. IX. about

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about Rome, as in the Pay of Cafar. The A. D. Pontiff, of whom he had before received Money, having private Information of it, diffembled the Affair, till having artfully drawn him to go and meet Vaudemont, Brother to the Duke of Lorraine, who was coming from France, being fent by that King to favour the Enterprise on the Kingdom of Naples, he caused him to be apprehended at Bracciano, and fent Prifoner to the Castle of Sant' Angelo.

King of England proposes of Arms.

THE Pontiff was intent on providing Money, and on his supplicating the Princes a Ceffation he obtained of the King of England a fresh Supply of 30,000 Ducats, which were brought him by Master Russel, of his Bedchamber, accompanied by Monf. Rabandanges, with 10,000 Crowns fent him by the King of France on account of the Tenths, which the Pope, preffed by Neceffity, had granted him, with a Promife that, besides the monthly Payments of the 40,000 Crowns to the League, and 20,000 to the Pope, he would give him 20,000 Ducats at present, and as much more within a Month. Master Russel had alfo

also Orders from the King of England to A. D. propose to the Viceroy and the Duke of 1527. Bourbon a Suspension of Arms, to give Time for the Treaty of Peace, which, in Compliance with Cæsar's Will, was held in England, and, in case of Refusal, to denounce War. That King, defirous of matching his Daughter to the King of France, seemed at that time inclined to favour the Confederates, and promifed that, as foon as the Matrimony was concluded, he would enter into the League, and begin a War in Flanders. He appeared also mightily disposed to do good Offices to the Pontiff in particular; but no ready Affistance could be expected from a Prince who made no just Estimate of his own Strength, and of the present Circumstances of Italy, and also was not fixed in one determinate Will, being always withheld from coming to a Refolution by the Hopes given him from Cæfar of putting into his Hands the Negotiations of Peace; tho' the Effects were by no means answerable. For when the Auditor of the Chamber addressed him on that Head, tho' Cæsar used many Arts to persuade P 2 him

#### OF THE HISTORY

A. D. him that this was his Intention, yet, as the expected to hear first what had happened in Italy in consequence of the Arrival of the Germans and of the Fleet, he gave no certain Answer, making Exceptions to the Commissions of the Confederates, as if they were not fufficient.

mid

Pope'sdu- But the Pontiff, by his continual bious and treating with the Viceroy about an Conduct. Agreement, did himself a Prejudice with the Allies, who were every Hour apprehenfive that he would make an Accommodation with him; and the King of France and the Venetians imagined that whatever they should expend for his Support would be in a manner useless. Suspicion was increased by the extreme Fear which was apparent in him, and the daily Protestations of his Inability to sustain the War any longer, added to his Obstinacy in not suffering himself to be persuaded to create Cardinals for Money, and to affift himfelf in so great a Necessity, and in fo great a Danger of the Church, by Methods which other Pontiffs had been accustomed to take even for carrying on

am-

ambitious and unjust Enterprises. Where- A. D. fore the King and the Venetians, in order, to be prepared for all Events, had entered into a particular and fresh Obligation to make no Agreement with Cafar one without the other; fo that the King, for this Reason, and because of the great Hopes given him by the King of England of making conjointly with him, if they agreed about the Affinity, great Movements next Spring, became more negligent of the Dangers of Italy.

AT this time the Viceroy haftened the Preparations for attacking the State of the Church, and detached 2000 Spanish Foot to give an Affault to a small Castle of Stephen Colonna's; but they were repulsed. He advanced however so briskly forwards, that the Ecclefiaftics laid afide their Intention of besieging Rocca di Papa, the Garrison of which Place had taken Castel Gandolfo, belonging to the Cardinal di Monte, which had but a weak Garrison. At last the Viceroy, having assembled a Body of 12,000 Foot, of whom, except the Spaniards and Germans, brought over

by

### THE HISTORY OF

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A. D. by the Fleet, the greater Part were of the Militia, on the 21st of January laid Siege to Frusolone, a weak unwalled Town, Viceroy belieges Frusolone. (tho' the private Houses and the Grotto served instead of a Wall) in which the Commanders of the Church had placed a Garrison, that they might leave him no Room for fetting Foot in Campagna; and tho' the Place also was victualled but for a few Days, yet the Situation of the Town, which is built on a Hill, gave the Besieged always an Opportunity of faving themfelves on one Side, as they had a small open Space behind their Backs, which made the Troops the bolder in its Defence, besides which they were some of the choicest of the Italian Infantry in Pay at that time. The Height of the Mountain also made it impracticable for the Enemy to approach their Artillery, of which they had planted three Pieces of Demicannon, and Four Demiculverins, fo as to do confiderable Damage to the Place; but their principal Care was to prevent,

as far as they were able, the Entrance of

Provisions into the Town.

no Spaniards and Germans, brought over

A. D.

On the other fide, the Pontiff, tho' very much exhaufted of Money, and more ready to bear the Indignity of begging Supplies of others, than the Indignity of providing himself by extraordinary Means, increased, as much as he could, his Forces, both with Troops in Pay, and with Militia; and had very lately taken into his Service Oratio Baglione, forgetting the Injuries he had done, first to his Father, and afterwards to Oratio himself, whom he had a long time kept Prisoner in the Castle of Sant' Angelo, as a Disturber of the Peace of Perugia. With these Reinforcements the Army of the Pontiff was continually drawing together near Ferentino, to put the Besieged in hopes of Relief. By the 24th a Breach was made in Frusolone, but it not being sufficient to give the Viceroy Hopes of Success, the Assault was deferred, tho' in carrying on the Works to-

wards the Walls Alarcone was wounded Befieged with a Harquebus-Shot; Mario Orfino make a alfo received a Wound. The Viceroy fistance.

P 4

grounded his principal Hopes on knowing

that

A. D. that the Garrison laboured under a Scarcity of Provisions, as did also the Army that was assembling at Ferentino; for the Colonnas who were in Palliano, Montefortino, and Rocca di Papa, which were all the Places they held, scoured the Roads, and Renzo in his March to the Army had routed the Regiment of Foot of Cuio, that escorted the Provisions. One Day however there marched out of Frusolone Three Hundred Foot, and some Horse, with Aleffandro Vitello, Giovambattista Savello, and Pietro da Birago, who advancing within half a Mile of Larnata, in which were quarterd five Colours of Spanish Foot, drew two of them into an Ambush, and broke them, killing Captain Peralta and Eighty Men, and taking many Prisoners, with the two Colours. The Viceroy in the mean time was employed in working the Mines at Frusolone, and the Garrison in countermining them, being under so little Apprehension from the Enemy, that they refused a Reinforcement of Four Hundred Foot which the Generals of the Army would have thrown into the Place.

ALL

1527.

the Pontiff paying One Hundred and Fifty ALL this while however the Negotiations for an Agreement were carried on with no less Warmth; for the General of the Franciscans, and the Archbishop of Capoua were returned to Rome, accompanied with Cefare Fieramosca, a Neapolitan, whom Cæfar had, after the Departure of the Viceroy, dispatched from Spain to the Pontiff, with Orders to declare especially that he was very much concerned at the Entrance of Don Ugo and the Colonnas into Rome, and at the Consequences of that Step; to give him Affurances that Cæfar was very defirous to compound all Differences with him and to treat, in his Name, of Peace, which he seemed also inclined to make with the other Confederates, and faid, as the Nuncio wrote, that if the Pontiff put in Execution, according to his Word, his Purpose of going to Barcelona, he would give him free Power to pronounce Peace at his own Discretion. These Deputies proposed, on the Part of the Viceroy, a Truce for two or three Years with the Pontiff and Venetians, each Party keeping what it at present possessed,

the

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the Pontiff paying One Hundred and Fifty 1527. Thousand Ducats, and the Venetians Fifty Thousand; which, tho' very hard upon

the Pontiff, yet so ardent was his Desire to free himself from the Burden and Vexations of the War, that, to induce the Venetians to consent to the Truce, he offered to pay the Fifty Thousand Ducats. To

A Truce of eight Days.

expect their Answer, he made a Truce, on the last Day of January, with the Viceroy for eight Days, on condition that the Troops of the Church should not pass beyond Ferentino, nor those of the Viceroy beyond Frusolone, nor should carry on any Works against the Town, the Garrison likewise being prohibited to work on the Fortifications, or to introduce any Provisions into the Place, but only from Day to Day ent story oisnu cution, according to his

FIERAMOSCA now imagining that he had fufficiently discovered the Intentions of the Pontiff, and might make known those of the Emperor without Offence to his Dignity, presented him a long Letter. written with Cafar's own Hand, full of a good Disposition, Offers, and Devotion totije

wards

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wards the Pontiff. After this he departed, A. D. to give Notice to the Viceroy and the Legate of the Suspension agreed, and to take Care that it should be put in Execution, and arrived the same Day in the Army, which had moved from Ferentino, and was marching towards Frusolone. He there notified the Truce to the Legate, who, loth to interrupt the great Hopes which his Men had conceived of Victory, gave him fair Words, and fent fecret Orders to the Troops to continue their March. The Army could not arrive at Frusolone before they made themselves Masters of a Pass, which is in nature of a Bridge, fituate at the Foot of the first Hill of Frusolone, and guarded by four Colours of German Foot. But the Vanguard arriving under the Command of Stefano Colonna, and coming to an Engagement, broke them, and put them to Flight, killing about Two Hundred, and taking Four Hundred with the Colours. Having thus gained the first Hill, the rest of the Enemy retired to a stronger Post, leaving the Entrance into Frusolone free to the Ecclefiastics, who, Night approaching,

took

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A. D. took up their Quarters over against them; Renzo and Vitello, with whose Conduct in this Affair the Pontiff was not well pleafed, being in great Hopes of giving them a Defeat, whether they stayed or retired, which, as it was believed, would infallibly have been the Confequence, had the Troops of the Church encamped on the Hill they had taken, or had been careful and vigilant to perceive the Retreat of the Enemy. For the Viceroy, not the next Day, but the Day after that, two Hours before Light, broke up, and marched off, without giving any Sign of his Decampment, fetting Fire to some Powder which he had remaining, and leaving behind him a great Quantity of Cannon Balls: And tho', as foon as his Departure was perceived, the Ecclefiaftics dispatched their Light Horse in pursuit, which took some Baggage, and a few Prisoners of small Account, yet they came too late to do any confiderable Damage; the Enemy however left behind them some Part of their Provisions, and retired to Cefano, and from

thence to Cepperano.

Siege of Frufolone raifed.

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.A . Land while the Pleet with I THE Pope, refuming Courage from the Retreat of the Enemy, and stimulated by the Ambaffadors, who would not otherwife be fatisfied, refolved to undertake the Enterprise against the Kingdom of Naples. For Rabandanges, who had brought Ten Thousand Ducats on account of the Tenths. and Ten Thousand on account of Renzo, had Orders not to distribute them without the Consent of Alberto Pio, Renzo, and Monf. de Lange, which they were not to give unless they could affure themselves that the Pontiff would make no Agreement. And the Venetians, to whom Master Russel was gone to induce them to accept the Peace proposed by the Viceroy, and approved by the Pope, but, breaking his Leg on the Road, had fent forward the Dispatch, answered that they would make no Truce without the Confent of the King of France; and they were the more encouraged in this Resolution by knowing that Genoa was reduced to very great Extremities for Want of Provisions. The Pope re-Pontiff therefore resolved to attack the solves to Kingdom of Naples with an Army by ples. Land,

SALICIA

A. D. Land, while the Fleet with Vaudemont, who had raifed Two Thousand Foot, should act against it by Sea. But Renzo, at whose Discretion the Money of the King of France was expended, refolved, contrary to the Will of the Pontiff, who was of Opinion that the whole Force should be employed in the same Place, to cause Six Thousand Men to enter the Abruzzi; in hopes that by means of the Sons of the Count di Montorio, who were fent thither with Two Thousand Men, he might eafily get Possession of Aquila; and the Attempt foon succeeded, for Ascanio Colonna, on the first Advice of their Approach, abandoned the City with Precipitation. The Beginnings of this Enterprise were very hopeful and flattering; for tho' the Viceroy put Garrisons in the neighbouring Places, and did his utmost to remedy the Diforder, yet Part of his Army being disbanded, and others of neceffity distributed into the Towns for their Prefervation, it was believed that he would remain engaged in refifting the Land Army, and that Renzo in the Abruzzi, and the Fleet of the Church and Venetians.

which

Aquila taken by the Ecclefiaftics.

which confifted of Two and Twenty Cal- A. D. lies, would find no Opposition, especially fince they carried an additional Supply of Three Thousand Foot, and had on board Oratio with Two Thousand Foot, and the Person of Vaidement, who, by the antient Right of King René, pretended to the Suca cession of that Kingdom, and to whom the Pontiss had given the Title of his Lieutenant.

had procured that Master Russel should

But the Affair proceeded with the greater Slowness because the Ecclesiastic Army had not as yet, on the twelfth Day of January, decamped from Frusolone, expecting the heavy Artillery from Rome. and to hear of the Entrance of Renzo into the Abruzzi, and the Arrival of the Fleet. What caused some Hindrance also, and Loss of Time, was a Mutiny of the Troops in Frusolone, who demanded the Pay due to them for the Victory. However on the eighteenth the Troops of the Viceroy abandoned Cefano, and other circumjacent Villages, and retired to Cepperano. On their Retreat the Ecclesiastic Army, which began to fuffer for want of Provisions, passed

A. D. passed San Germano, and the Viceroy, in Pain for the Event of Affairs, retired to Gaeta, and Don Ugo to Naples. The Pontiff, however, labouring under a great Want of Money, and Apprehensions of Pope em the Coming forwards of the Duke of barrassed. Bourbon, to whose Army he did not fee the Confederates in a Readiness to make Refistance, and continuing in the same Inclination to an Agreement with Cafar, had procured that Master Russel should go to the Viceroy with a Commission from his King, which gave Occasion to the Return of Cesare Fieramosca to Rome, on the 21st of February, where he opened his Instructions, and departed the next Day. leaving the Pontiff in great Confusion and Irrefolution of Mind. But to prevent his precipitating himself into an Agreement the Venetians, in the Beginning of March. offered to pay him, within Fifteen Days, Fifteen Thousand Ducats, and the like Sum in Fifteen Days more, having obtained of him the Jubilee for their Dominions.

A. D. 1527.

Bur the Fleet of the Pope and Venetians, which, to the great Detriment of the Undertaking, had remained unactive in Expectation of the French Squadron, and, on the 23d of February, had been forced by contrary Winds to the Isle of Ponzo, fince advanced forwards, and plundered the Mole of Gaeta, and afterwards, on the Fourth of March, landed some Foot at Pozzuolo, but finding the Place well provided put off again to Sea. After this, proceeding forwards, they made a Descent Successes by the River of Castello a Mare di Stabbia Contedenear Naples, where Diomede Caraffa had rate Fleet. posted himself with Five Hundred Foot, and on the Third of March, attacking the Place by the Way of the Mountain, they carried the Town by Storm, and plundered it, and the next Day the Castle surrendered. On the Tenth they stormed and took Torre del Greco, after which Surrente, and many other Towns on that Coast surrendered on Articles. The Fleet had before taken some Ships laden with Corn, by which Naples, where but slender Provision was made of that Commodity, suffered suf-VOL. IX. ficiently,

A. D. ficiently, meeting with no Opposition by Sea; and, on the Second Day of Lent, they approached fo near the Mole that the Castle and Gallies fired upon them, and before this the Troops by Land had advanced fo forwards that the People of Naples were forced to retire through the Gate of the Market, and to shut it. After this the Fleet took Salerno, and Vaudemont being gone with it after certain Ships, leaving Oratio with Four Gallies at Salerno, the Prince of Salerno with a great Multitude of Troops entered the Town by way of the Castle, but was routed by Oratio, above Two Hundred of his Men killed, and a good Number taken Prisoners. In the Abruzzi the old Count di Montorio, being delivered out of Prison by the Viceroy, that he might recover Aquila, was made a Prisoner by his Sons; and Renzo on the 6th of March, after taking Siciliano and Tagliacozzo, marched towards Sora. And yet, in fo fair an Opportunity, the Land Army, either through the Negligence of the Ministers, or the bad Provifion made by the Pontiff, was reduced to fuch

ficiently

243 fuch a Scarcity of Victuals, that on the 5th A. D of March they began to disband.

Bur the Negotiations of Peace being continually kept on Foot, in spite of these Hostilities, Fieramosca, and Serenon, Secretary to the Viceroy, on the Tenth Day of March, came to Rome, where the Day before was arrived M. de Lange, with Plenty of fair Speeches and Promifes, but without Money, tho' it had been fignified from France, that he had fet out with Twenty Thousand Ducats for putting Troops on board a Fleet of large Ships which was expected from Civita Vecchia, and with Twenty Thousand more to be brought to the Pontiff, whom Lange encouraged to undertake this Enterprise against the Kingdom of Naples, for one of the Sons of the King of France, who was to take in Marriage Caterina Daughter of Lorenzo de' Medici, and Niece to the Pontiff. For the King confiding in the Negotiation with England, and persuading himself that the Viceroy, by the Loss and Disorder received at Frusolone, was in no Condition to bring any Thing to Effect, and that

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King of France refuses a Truce.

A. D. that the Imperial Army, after so long delaying to move, and being also without Money, gave no Grounds for further Apprehensions of their March into Tuscany, would hear no more of a Truce, tho' it should comprehend all Parties, and excuse him from paying Money, that he might not give Time to Cafar to re-establish his Affairs. And yet, finding himself without Money, he had fent no more than Ten Thousand Ducats of the Twenty Thoufand he had promifed the Pontiff for every Month, and of the Money arising from the Tenths; nor had he as yet, on the Seventh of March, remitted the Money for the Troops to be put on board the Fleet of large Ships, the Charges of which were to be defrayed in common by him and the Venetians; and, fince he was not inclined to make any Motion till he had fettled Matters with the King of England, he thought it but reasonable that the Pontiff should wait till that Time.

THE Enterprise therefore against the Enterprise on Naples Kingdom of Naples, which had so hopeful a Beginning, was every Day profecuted with

with less Vigour. For the Fleet not be- A. D. ing reinforced with new Ships nor Men, and being obliged to garrison the conquered Places, could make but little Progress; and the Army by Land, which had not, on the 14th of March, received the Provisions sent from Rome by Sea, by reason of the bad Weather, being not only difabled from advancing forwards, but diminished and distressed for want of Food, retired at last to Piperno; and the Troops under Renzo were lessened in their Numbers for want of Pay, so as that General finding it impracticable to inclose the Viceroy between the two Armies, as the Defign had been laid, returned to Rome. These Disorders were increased by the close Application of the Pontiff to the Treaty for an Agreement, by which he weakened the Hands of the Confederates, remiss enough of themselves, and caused a Slackness in their Preparations, which on the other hand augmented his Defire of an Accommodation. And he entertained good Hopes of the pacific Disposition of Cæsar from an intercepted Letter of his, in which he charged the Viceroy to folli-

cit

A. D. cit an Agreement with the Pontiff, unless the Situation of Affairs required him to take other Measures.

Bur what most quickened the Pontiff to an Accommodation arose from his perceiving that Bourbon with the Imperial Army continually advanced forwards, and that neither the Resolutions of the Duke of Urbino, nor the Preparations of the Venetians were of fuch Confideration as to render him secure of the Affairs of Tuscany, the Concern about which afflicted him beyond measure. For the Duke of Urbino. while the Imperialists continued in their Quarters partly on this Side, partly beyond Piacenza, changing his first Resolution of being at Bologna with the Venetian Army before them, had determined in his Counfels that, as foon as it was known that the Enemy had moved, the Ecclefiaftic Army, leaving good Garrisons in Parma and Modeng, should march for Bologna, and that he himself with the Forces of the Venetians should march at the Back of the Enemy, but always at the Distance of Twenty or Thirty Miles, for Security of the Troops,

Duke of Urbino's Counfels on reftraining Bourbon.

in which Order, if the Enemy should af- A. D. terwards take the Road of Romagna or of Tuscany, he would continually proceed, while the Ecclesiastic Army with the Marquis of Saluzzo, attended by the French Lances and his own Foot, and the Swifs, always marched before them, still leaving Garrisons in the Towns by which the Enemy would be obliged to pass after them, and drawing them out, Place after Place, in Order as the Enemies passed. For this Counsel of his, which the other Generals did not well comprehend, he alledged feveral Reasons: As, first, that it was not advisable to oppose with the united Armies in the open Field the Passage of the Imperialists, because it was either dangerous or useless; dangerous, because, if they should come to a Battle, the Enemy being fuperior in Strength and Valour, if not in Number, would obtain the Victory; ufelefs, because if the Imperialists should avoid a Battle, it would be in their Power to leave the Army of the Confederates behind them, and, being ever afterwards advanced before them, would, wherever they came, make very great Progresses: That this Refolution Q4

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A. D. folution appeared to him the best that could be taken, supposing Things were in his Power; but that he was constrained by Necessity to take no other, because the hostile Army being already, as it was believed, upon putting themselves in Motion, his Troops were not fo readily provided as that he could be certain of having Time enough to get before them; and, besides, it was his Duty to confider, fince the Venetians had freely referred the Determination of this Point to his own Discretion, how to avoid endangering their State, which if the Enemy should perceive to be unprovided, they might from new Opportunities take new Counfels, and paffing the Po carry the Seat of War into their Territories, to their infinite Loss and Damage.

ceed with Caution and Secrefy in their own Affairs, but by no means fatisfied the Pon-Censured tiff, who considered that by this Counsel a Way was opened for the Imperial Army to proceed as far as Rome, or into Tuscany, or wherever it pleafed. For the Army which was to go before it, being inferior

in Force, and continually diminishing by

By these Reasons he convinced the Venetian Senate, by Nature inclined to pro-

the

THE WARS IN ITALY. 249
the Garrisons which it was obliged to A. D.
place in the Towns, could be in no. 1527.

place in the Towns, could be in no Condition to make Refistance; nor was it certain that the Venetians, once left behind, would be so ready to follow the Enemy in Fact, as the Speeches of the Duke implied, especially to those who considered the Manner of their Proceeding during the whole Course of the War, and judged that all the Forces united together, which would make an Army much greater than that of the Imperialists, might with more Ease prevent them from paffing forwards, intercept their Provisions, and make use of all Opportunities that might offer; nor would they ever have Occasion to be so far distant from the Enemy, as not to have Time enough to come with their Affistance if they turned their Arms against the Venetian Dominions.

THE Pontiff was much more displeased with the Resolution, when he understood that the Duke of *Urbino*, who on the Third Day of *January* was come to *Parma*, had, on the Attack of a slight Disorder, retired on the Fourteenth to Casal maggiore,

A. D. maggiore, and from thence, Five Days after, under Pretence of taking Care of himfelf, to Gazzuolo, where being relieved from his Fever, but laid up, as he faid, with the Gout, he had fent for his Wife. Those who were willing to put the best Construction on this Conduct, which was greatly mistrusted by the Pontiff, have endeavoured to prove that the Negotiations of Agreement were the Cause of the Duke's proceeding with this Suspension: But the Lieutenant comprehending, partly from what appeared probable, partly from Relation of Words spoken by him, that he was also induced to take these wrong Measures from a Desire to recover Montethe Duke's feltro, and San Leo, which were in the

Remissmefs.

Hands of the Florentines, and judging that if he were not fatisfied on this Head the Pontiff and Florentines might be abandoned by him in their greatest Necessity, it appearing also to him that these Towns were not worth the exposing of themselves to fo great a Danger, and as he knew befides that the same was defired at Florence, gave him Assurances of the Restitution, as if he had received Orders from the Pontiff fired on the Fourteepth to Cafe!

may giore,

251 Pontiff so to do, tho' this Step was not ap- A. D. proved by the Pontiff, who, in this Case, indulged his old and new Hatred more than Reason.

In the mean time the Imperialists, having distributed a very small Sum of Money among the Germans, kept themfelves encamped near Piacenza, in which was Count Guido Rangone with Six Thoufand Foot. From this City Paolo Luzzasco, and some other Light Horse of the Church, fometimes made Excursions, and one Day being accompanied by a certain Number of Foot, and fome Men at Arms, routed a Party of the Enemy on an Excurfion, and took Eighty Horse and One Hundred Foot, among them the Captains Scalengo, Zucchero, and Grugno Borgognone. Bourbon after this fent ten Companies of Spaniards to put Provisions into Pizzichitone; and a little after Count Gajazzo, with fome Light Horse and his own Foot, came to take up his Quarters in Borgo San Donnino, which was abandoned by the Ecclefiastics; and the next Day, in consequence of a Treaty held with him

A. D. him before, and also under a Pretence that he was disengaged from the Imperialists because he was not paid, he passed over to because he was not paid, he passed over to the Ecclesiastic Camp, and was taken into the Confederates. Pay by the Lieutenant, rather to satisfy others, than following his own Judgment, with Twelve Hundred Foot, and One Hundred and Thirty Light Horse, whom he had brought with him, on Condition that, if Casar deprived him of his County of Gajazzo, the Pontiff should, after eight Months, pay him an equivalent yearly Revenue till he had recovered it.

Bourbon, pursuant to the Counsel of the Duke of Ferrara, who yet resused to march in the Army, was rather desirous to march for Bologna and Florence, than to make any Stop at those Towns; but on the Seventeenth the Spanish Foot mutinied, demanded Money, and killed the Serjeant Major whom Bourbon had sent to appease them. However he quieted the Tumult as well as he could, and on the Twentieth passed the Trebbia with the whole Army, and encamped three Miles from Piacenza, having with him Five Hundred

Hundred Men at Arms, a good Number 4, D. of Light Horse, for the most Part Italians, but never paid, the German Foot newly arrived, Four or Five Thousand Spanish Foot, choice Troops, and about Two Thousand Italian Foot, lately disbanded, and not in Pay. As for the Remains of the old Germans, Part of them continued in Milan, and the rest were marched towards Savona, to favour the Enterprise on Genoa, which was reduced to great Straits. Wonderful indeed was the Resolution of Bourbon, and of that Army, which finding itself without Money, without Stores, without Pioneers, without Orders for Convoys of Provisions, ventured to put themselves on passing forwards between so many hostile Towns, and against an Enemy much more numerous than themselves. And much more to be admired still was the Constancy of the Germans, who having marched out of their Country with only a fingle Ducat each Man, and fuffered fo long in Italy a hard Subfistence under a fcanty Pay, having received, during all that Time, no more than two or three Ducats a Head, chearfully betook themselves, contrary

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A. D. contrary to the Custom of all Soldiers, and especially of their Nation, to march forwards, having no other Recompence or Expectation than the Hopes of Victory, tho' it was manifestly known to all that their Stores of Provision were very short, and that, being in the Neighbourhood of Enemies, they could not live without Money. But what supported their Hopes, and lengthened out their Patience was the great Authority of their General George, who had gained their entire Considence, and proposed Rome and the greatest Part of Italy for their Prey.

THE Imperialists on the 22d advanced to Borgo San Donnino, and the next Day the Marquis of Saluzzo with the Ecclesiastic Troops, to the Number of between Eleven and Twelve Thousand Men, leaving some Venetian Foot in Garrison at Parma, set out from that City on his March for Bologna, after he had left Orders for Count Guido to remove from Piacenza to Modena, and the Infantry of the Black Bands to Bologna, leaving a sufficient Garrison in Piacenza. Thus the Marquis,

Marquis, taking his Way through the A. D. Reggian, in four Encampments, arrived 1527. between Anzuola and Ponte a Reno, at Marquis which time Bourbon was about Reggio: secures And the Duke of Urbino, who had rejec-Bologna. ted as useless the Proposal which the Lieutenant made to him at Cafal maggiore, for augmenting the Number of the Swift, was now instant with him to propose at Rome and Venice a new Levy of Four Thousand Swis, and Two Thousand Germans, excusing his Opposition at that Time, because the Season would not permit taking the Field, and he had imagined that the Enemies, whom he promifed with this Augmentation to approach, would first break up and disperse: A Counfel despised by every Body, because such flow Remedies could afford no manner of Relief in the present Dangers, and he might also assure himself that his Proposal was impossible to be put in Execution, through the Difficulty of Money, and the difunited Counsels of the Confederates.

256 A. D.

Action.

A T this time the Duke of Milan, who Duke of had affembled Three Thousand Foot, and Milan in fecured Lodi and Cremona, with all the Country beyond the Adda, and made Incursions into the Milanese, surprised the Town of Moncia; but his Men foon abandoned it, on Advice that Antonio da Leva, who had accompanied Bourbon, was returning to Milan, and had taken that Way, bringing with him, as it was faid, Two Thousand German veteran Foot, Fifteen Hundred newly levied, with One Thousand Spanish and Five Thousand Italian Foot, under several different Commanders.

Motions of Bourbon.

But Bourbon, after passing the Secchia, took the Road on the Left, and on the Fifth of March arrived at Buonporto, where he left the Army, and went to Finale, to confer with the Duke of Ferrara, who perfuaded him by all means to lay afide all other Projects, and to march directly for Florence or Rome; nay, it is believed that he advised him to let alone every other Enterprise, and to take his March towards

257 towards Rome. In this Resolution the A. D. Duke of Bourbon had many Difficulties that tormented his Mind, and especially the Fear that the Army, after it was conducted into the Territory of Rome, would, either out of Necessity, or a Desire of Refreshment, or from some Difficulties that it might encounter, which it would be fure to meet with if the Pontiff should not be difarmed, take up its Quarters in the Kingdom of Naples.

On the same Day the Troops of the Venetians Venetians passed the Po, without the Per-pass the fon of the Duke of Urbino, who, tho' recovered, remained still at Gazzuolo, but with an Intention to fet out very foon.

On the Seventh Bourbon encamped at Situation San Giovanni, in the Bolognese, whence he of the fent a Trumpet to Bologna, whither the Armies, Ecclefiaftic Troops had retired, to demand Provisions, faying that his Intention was to march to the Relief of the Kingdom of Naples: And the same Day he was joined by the Spaniards who were in Carpi, which Town was put into the Poffession Vol. IX. of

of the Duke of Ferrara. The Forces of the Venetians were on the Banks of the Secchia, resolved to pass no further till they had Advice of the Departure of Bourbon from San Giovanni, where he received his Provisions from the Ferrarese; but when they came to be paid for, the Troops, having little or no Money, were obliged to enlarge their Quarters for procuring Subfiftence, and fcoured all the Country, preying upon Men and Beafts, which was the Method they took to pay for their Provisions. Hence it most undeniably appears that, if they had met with a powerful Opposition, or if the Ecclesiastic Army, which was in and about Bologna, had been able to encamp in their Neighbourhood, the Imperialists would have been reduced to great Straits; for, by continuing to quarter thus at large they would have been exposed to great Danger, and, by contracting their Quarters, they must have been destitute of the Means for providing Food.

But among the Troops which were in Bologna were many Diforders, both from the

the Qualifications of the Marquis, who A. D. was fitter to break a Lance than to difcharge the Office of a General, and becharge the Swifs and his own Foot were Marquis not paid by the Venetians at due Times; of Saluze which were the Causes of their losing a very fair Opportunity.

In the mean time Bourbon, to enable himself to proceed forwards, was intent on furnishing himself from Ferrara with Provisions for several Days, with warlike Stores, and with Pioneers and Oxen, having brought with him thus far four Pieces of Cannon; and, tho' he gave various Signs of his Intentions, it was believed for certain that his Defign was to pass into Tuscany by the Way of Sasso; and the same was confirmed by Geronimo Morone, who had for many Days held a private Correspondence with the Marquis of Saluzzo, tho', in the Opinion of many, dissembling and fraudulent. But the fourteenth of March being appointed for the Troops to leave their Quarters, on which Occasion the four Cannon were sent back to Bondino, on the Day before the German R 2 Foot,

A. D. Foot, deluded with various Promises of Payment, and followed afterwards by the A Mutiny Spanish Foot, crying out Money! mutiin Bournied with a very great Tumult, in which bon's Army. Bourbon was in no small Danger of his Life, if he had not taken Care privately to fly out of his Quarters, which the Mutineers plundered, and killed one of his Gentlemen. On this Occasion the Marquis del Guasto immediately repaired to Ferrara, whence he returned with a Sum of

Appealed. Money, which, tho' but small, served to quiet the Army. On the Seventeenth fell a vast Quantity of Snow and Rain, so that it was impossible, from the Swelling of the Rivers, and the Badness of the Roads, for the Army to proceed for some Days: And General George was feized with an Apoplectic Fit, which reduced him to the Point of Death; whence it was expected, tho' with greater Hopes than was answered by future Success, that, this Commander being rendered at least unfit for following the Camp, the German Foot would, by his Departure, be disheartened, and incapable any longer to support the Inconveniencies, and the Want of Money.

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At this Time the Venetian Forces were at San Faustino, near Rubiera, where, on Duke of Urbino the Eighteenth Day of March, arrived the arrives in Duke of Urbino, promising, according to the Allied Army. his Custom, the Venetian Senate a certain Victory, not however by the Valour of the Confederate Arms, but from the Difficulties of the Enemy.

THE Pontiff, in this threatening Situa-Pontiff ill tion of his Affairs on every Quarter, was the King dejected for want of Money, dispirited by of France, the Miscarriage of the Enterprise, according to his first Designs, on the Kingdom of Naples, his Troops, for want of Provisions, being retired to Piperno, and difheartened because the Preparations of the French, most ample in Words, became every Day more scanty in Effects, as they had ever been from first to last during the whole Course of the War. For, besides the Slowness of the King in sending the Forty Thousand Ducats the first Month of the War, in dispatching the Five Hundred Lances, and fitting out the Fleet; befides

A. D. his declining to open a War, as he was obliged, on the other fide the Mountains, which was defigned as one of the principal Means for obtaining the Victory, he also failed of fulfilling his daily Promises. He had promised to pay the Pontiff, befides the ordinary Contributions, Forty Thousand Ducats each Month, for opening the War in the Kingdom of Naples; and a Truce afterwards happening, occafioned by the Infult from Don Ugo and the Colonnas, he had perfuaded him not to observe it, and confirmed anew the same Promise, that he might serve himself of the Money either for the War of Naples, or for his own Defence; and had further engaged his Word to fend unto him Renzo da Ceri, who was in great Reputation with the King on account of the Defence of Marseilles. All these Things, tho' promised in October, were so long delayed by their Slowness, that Renzo did not arrive at Rome till the Fourteenth of January, and then without Money; and ten Days after arrived Twenty Thousand Ducats, of which Renzo kept Four Thousand for his Pension and private Expences, and Ten

Ten Thousand for the Enterprise on the Abruzzi, fo that only Six Thousand Ducats came to the Hands of the Pontiff, who relying on these Promises had about three Months before broken the Truce. The King promised to pay him, for the Grant of the Tenths, within eight Days, Twenty-five Thousand Crowns, and Thirty-five Thousand more within two Months; but of these the Pontiff received no more than the Nine Thousand of the Money brought by Rabandanges. Paolo a' Arezzo took his Leave of the King of France on the Twelfth of February, having, for the better Encouragement of the War, received from the King a Promise of Twenty Thousand Ducats, besides the forementioned Sums, which, being fent after M. de Lange, never passed beyond Savona. The King was obliged by the Articles of the Confederacy to fend Twelve Light Gallies; he faid he had fent Sixteen, but they lay for the most part of the Time so ill provided, and so destitute of Men fit to put ashore, that they never stirred from Savona; whereas if in the Beginning, when the War was opened against the Kingdom

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263 D A. D. of Naples; they had immediately joined the Pontiff and Venetians, they would, according to the common Opinion, have made a confiderable Progress. The Fleet of large Ships, certainly very powerful, tho' often promised to be sent towards the Kingdom of Naples, yet, whatever might be the Cause, never went beyond the Coast of Provence, or Savona; and, after the King had concurred in giving two Pays to the Foot of the Marquis of Saluz-20, he agreed with the Venetians, who kept on Foot a leffer Number of Troops than their Engagements required, that their Payment should be made out of the Contribution of the Forty Thousand Du-The Engagements and Affiftance of the King of England, were at too great a Distance, and too uncertain. He faw that the Venetians were flow in the Payment of the Troops, on which account Saluzzo's Foot, and the Swiss, who were quartered in Bologna, were in a manner of no Service. He was terrified at the Variations and Manner of Proceeding of the Duke of Urbino, by which he was fenfible that the Imperialifts would find no Obstacle

265 1. D.

Obstacle to obstruct their Passage into A. D. Tuscany, where, from the evil Disposition of the Florentine People, and the Adherents of the Cæsareans in the City of Siena, he had Reason to apprehend the State of Florence, and also that of the Church to be in very great Danger.

FOR these Reasons the Pontiff, after much Debate with himself, and Fluctuation of Mind, tho' he knew how pernicious and dangerous it was to separate himfelf from his Allies, and to put himself in the Power of the Enemy, yet not receiving fufficient Affistance from others, nor willing to feek Affistance from himfelf as much as he might have done, but his prefent Fears prevailing over him, and wanting Spirits to make Refistance against Difficulties and Dangers, refolved to come to an Agreement with Fieramosca and Serenon, who were in Rome, with a Commission from the Viceroy for that Purpose, on a Suspension of Arms for eight Months, on Condition of paying to the Imperial Pope agrees to Army Sixty Thousand Ducats; that what-a Truce ever had been taken from the Church and on Conditions. the Kingdom of Naples, and from the Colonnas, should be restored; and that Pompeo Colonna should be re-established in the Dignity of the Cardinalship, with Abfolution from Cenfures, which was the hardest Condition of all to the Pontiff, and to which he condescended with the greatest Difficulty. The King of France and the Venetians were at Liberty, within a certain Time, to enter into this Agreement, in which Case the German Foot were to depart out of Italy, and if they did not accede, then the Germans were to evacuate the State of the Church, and also that of Florence; that the Pontiff should pay Forty Thousand Ducats on the Twenty-second Instant, and the rest before the Expiration of the Month; and that the Viceroy should come to Rome. This last appeared to the Pope as it were the only Means to secure himself of the Observance of Bourbon, of which he was also put in Hopes by a Letter of Bourbon to the Viceroy, which had been intercepted

by the Lieutenant, in which he informed him of the Difficulties in which he found himself involved, and advised him to

come

come to an Agreement with the Pontiff, A. D. if it might be confistent with the Honour of Cælar. In consequence of this Agreement all the Troops were immediately recalled on both Sides, as well as the Fleets, and the Towns were restored, the Pontiff on his Part proceeding bona fide in the Observance of the Treaty, though he had at that Time a great Superiority in the Kingdom of Naples. But in Aquila the Sons of the Count of Montorio, not knowing how to fecure themselves otherwise, fet at Liberty their Father, who immediately, with the Favour of the Imperial Party, drove away his Sons and those of the opposite Faction.

THE Viceroy afterwards arrived at A fatal Rome, by whose Coming the Pontiff, Step of the Pontiff, the Pontiff, imagining himself wholly secured of the Observance of the Convention, very impoliticly disbanded all the Troops that were in his Pay in the different Quarters of Rome, except an Hundred Light Horse, and Two Thousand Foot of the Black Bands, being the more encouraged to make this Step by perfuading himfelf that the

A. D. the Duke of Bourbon was inclined to an 1527-Agreement by the Difficulties he found in profecuting the War, because he had always pretended to him that he defired it.

Rourbon and the Army reject the Truce.

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Bur Affairs about Bologna took a very different Course; for the Pontiff, as soon as the Truce was ratified, having dispatched Cesare Fieramosca to Bourbon, that he might give his Approbation of the Agreement, and, on the Receipt of the Money, remove the Army out of the Territory of the Church, met with infinite Difficulties in Bourbon, and especially in the Soldiers, who appeared obstinately bent to continue the War, either because they fed themfelves with Hopes of vast Gains, or because the Money promised by the Pontiff was not fufficient to discharge two Pays; and therefore many believed that, if the Sum had been augmented to an Hundred Thousand Ducats, the Truce would have been readily accepted. Whatever might be the Cause, it is certain that the Soldiers did not defift from ravaging the Bolognese, and shewing all the Marks of Enemies, as much after the Coming of Fieramosca as they

they did before: And yet Bourbon, who A. D. was at work on levelling the Roads, and 1527. Fieramosca gave Hopes to the Lieutenant that, in spite of all Difficulties, the Army would accept the Truce; Bourbon affirming that he was necessitated to make these Levellings, in order to amuse the Soldiers with Hopes of proceeding forwards, till he had induced them to comply with his Defire, which was to preserve the Friendship of the Pontiff; though, at the same time, were coming to the Army Supplies of Meal, Pioneers, Waggons, Powder, and other Stores, by Order of the Duke of Ferrara, who afterwards boasted that neither the Money that he gave them, nor all these Assistances exceeded the Value of Sixty Thousand Ducats. And, on the other fide, the Duke of Urbino, pretending to be apprehensive that this Army, after accepting the Truce, would fall upon the Polefine of Rovigo, withdrew the Venetian Troops from beyond the Po to Cafal maggiore.

THINGS stood thus in Suspense Eight Days: At last Bourbon, either because it

A. D. had been always his Intention, or because it was not in his Power to command the Army, wrote to the Lieutenant, that he was constrained by Necessity, fince he could not reduce the Soldiers to a Compliance with his Will, to march forwards. Bourbon Putting therefore his Defign in Execution, marches forwards. he proceeded the next Day, which was the last of March, and encamped at Ponte Ardor of a Reno, with fo great Ardor of the Inthe Army fantry, that a Person, sent from the Viceroy to follicit Bourbon to accept the Truce, as he was entering the Camp, would have been killed by the Spaniards if he had not fled. But they shewed greater Marks of Resentment against the Marquis del Guasto, who having left the Army in order to retire into the Kingdom of Naples, induced either by Indisposition of Body, or because he would not contravene, as he wrote to the Lieutenant, the Will of Caefar, as did the rest, or by some other Reason, was by the Army proclaimed a Rebel.

FROM the Coming of the Duke of Progress Bourbon to Ponte a Reno the Marquis of of Bourbon Saluzzo and the Lieutenant, assuring themselves

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felves that the Enemies were on their A. D. March towards Romagna, left Part of the Italian Infantry for the Security of Bologna, and fet out the same Night with the rest of the Army for Forli, not without Difficulty in conducting the Swifs, for the Payment of whom the Lieutenant was under a Necessity of lending Giovanni Vitturio Ten Thousand Ducats. They entered Forli the Third of April, leaving in Imola a Garrison sufficient for its Defence. On the Fifth Bourbon paffed under the Walls of Imola, in order to encamp lower on the high Road.

Bur as foon as certain Advice came to Rome that Bourbon had not accepted the Truce, the Viceroy feeming vaftly uneafy, and perfuading himfelf that, according to his first Advices, the Refusal proceeded from the Necessity of a greater Sum of Money, dispatched one of his Gentlemen with a further Offer of Twenty Thousand Ducats, which were to be paid out of the Revenues of Naples. But understanding afterwards that his Messenger had been in Danger, he set out on the Third

A. D. Third of April from Rome, to confer with Bourbon, having promised the Pon-Fallacioustiff that he would constrain him to accept Promifes the Truce, if by no other Means, yet by of the feparating from him the Men at Arms, Viceroy. and the greater Part of the Spanish Infantry. But arriving in Six Days at Florence, he stayed there to treat with some Persons sent by Bourbon, as in a more convenient Place, it being now certain that the Army could not be stopped without paying them a much greater Sum of Money, which must be procured from the Florentines, on whom the Pontiff had left the whole Charge of providing it.

THESE Variations highly augmented the Difficulties and Dangers of the Pontiff, and had indeed increased them for many Days past. For in the Uncertainty of the Resolutions of the Duke of Bourbon, and of the Result of the Coming of the Viceroy, he was under a Necessity of Assistance from the Allies, who grew cool and remiss from his Actions, notwithstanding the Sollicitations and Remonstrances of his Lieutenant stimulating them

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them to the contrary. For the Pontiff in A. D. all his Speeches, and other outward Marks of his Inclination, manifested the most eager Defire of an Agreement, and the great Hopes he entertained that by the Help of the Viceroy it would fucceed; and the Lieutenant, on the other hand, comprehending, by many Signs, that the Hopes of the Pontiff were vain, and knowing that the flow and languid Provisions of the Confederates exposed the Affairs of Florence and of Rome to most manifest Danger, made the most earnest Instances with the Marquis of Saluzzo and the Venetians to perfuade them that the Agreement would not take Effect, and to exhort them, if not for the Sake of others, yet, at least, for their own nant sol-Interest, not to abandon the Concerns of licits the the Pontiff, and of Tuscany; not dis-affift the fembling, in order to gain the greater Pope. Credit, that the Pope, not knowing the open Frauds of the Imperialifts, ardently expected it; and representing that though, by giving him Affistance, they should obtain nothing more than only rendering the Conditions of an Agreement easy to him, it would redound to their very great Bene-

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would agree, for himself and the Florentines, on Conditions which would be of little Detriment to the League; but, if abandoned, would of Necessity be constrained to oblige himself to give the Imperialists a very large Sum of Money, and some considerable Monthly Contribution, to maintain those Arms which would afterwards be employed in a War against themselves; for which Reason they ought, if they would not do themselves a Mischief, whenever Bourbon should put himself in Motion to attack Tuscany, to move also with all their Forces to defend it.

THE Marquis of Saluzzo was much perplexed on coming to a Resolution in this Affair, but the Venetians were in much greater Perplexity; for as the Pusillanimity of the Pontiff was manifest to all, they assured themselves that, even after obtaining fresh Assistance from them, he would embrace an Agreement whenever he could obtain it, without any Regard to the Confederates; and therefore they thought themselves sollicited to take a Step quite

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new in Politics, by affifting him to render A. D. easy his Convention with the common 1527. Enemy. They confidered that to abandon him might be the Cause of greater Prejudice to the common Concerns, but they judged it would be exposing their Troops to manifest Danger between the Appennine and the Enemy, and in a Country that was already become difaffected to them, if the Pontiff should, while they were in Tuscany, confirm the Agreement, or make a new one. A Doubt also arose, which had fome Weight with the Senate, that the Pontiff made Instances that their Troops might pass into Tuscany, in order to constrain them to accept of the Suspension to avoid the Danger of losing them. The Lieutenant had, with no great Difficulty, removed those Perplexities from the Mind. of the Marquis, though many of his Council, for fear of exposing the Troops to Danger, advised him to the contrary; for, as he had been before ready to come to Forli, so he did not refuse, if Necessity required, to pass into Tuscany.

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Duke of Urbino

BUT the Venetians, to keep the Pope and Florentines in some Hopes, and, on the other hand, to be in Readiness to take fuch Measures as the Course of Affairs Day after Day required, ordered that the Duke of Urbino should, on the Fourth of April, break up from Cafal maggiore, and fend his Cavalry by the Way that lay along the Po on the other Side, and his Infantry by that River. The Duke, shewing some Apprehensions from the March of the Imperialists into Romagna, fent Two Thousand Foot of the Venetians to cover his own State. It was however fuspected by many, and by the Pontiff in particular, that he had made a fecret Prosuspected mise to Bourbon to give him no Impediment in his Passage into Tuscany.

In the mean time the Duke of Bourbon fearching all Parts for Provisions, of which of the Im- he stood in extreme Necessity, fent a Part perial Arof the Army to Cotignuola, which Town, though it had a strong Wall, after a little Battering, furrendered on Articles; for the Inhabitants of this, and of many other Places

Places in Romagna, dreading the Rapines A. D. of Friendly Soldiers, had refused Gar- 1527. risons. Cotignuola being taken, Bourbon fent the Four Cannon to Lugo, and rested Three or Four Days on the Banks of the Lamone, both to provide himself with Victuals, and because of the Impediments of the Waters. From hence, on the Thirteenth of April, he passed the Montone, and encamped at Villa Franca, Five Miles from Forli. That Day the Marquis of Saluzzo took and disarmed Five Hundred Foot, almost all Spaniards, who had left their Colours, and were gone marauding towards Monte Poggiuoli, as was the Case of almost the whole Army through extreme Want of Provisions. On the Fourteenth Bourbon encamped on the Road towards Meldola, a Way that leads, by Galeata and Valdibagno, into Tuscany, whither he was earnestly follicited to pass by the Senefe, who offered him Plenty of Provisions and Pioneers. The Germans in their March, burning all the Places in the Country through which they passed, attacked the Town of Meldola, which furrendered, and yet was burnt.

THE

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1527. THE fame Day Bourbon received Advice that the Viceroy, with the Confent A of Motte, whom he had deputed to him at Florence, for that Purpose, had the Day before figned an Agreement in Florence, importing: That without derogating in other Matters, but rather confirming anew the Convention at Rome, the Duke of Bourbon should, within Five Days next ensuing, begin to retire with the Army; and, as foon as he was retired to his first Encampment, should receive Sixty Thoufand Ducats some time in May next, Fifty Thousand of which the Viceroy, by a Schedule, or Note, under his own Hand. obliged Casar to repay; but these last Sixty Thousand were not to be paid till the Release of Filippo Strozzi, and the Absolution of Jacopo Salviati from the Penalty of Thirty Thousand Ducats, as the Viceroy had promised the Pontiff, not in the Articles of the Truce, but fimply by Word of Mouth.

Ineffectual This News did not retard the Duke to stop Bourbon from marching forwards, nor yet

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yet the Advice that the Viceroy was fet A. D. out from Florence for the Army, in order to fettle with him all Matters which should be necessary. For the Viceroy was defirous of an Accommodation, as for many other Reasons, so also, as I have heard from Persons of Credit, because he was projecting that the Army should immediately turn its Force against the Venetians. And though he had promifed at Rome to remove from Bourbon the Cavalry, and the greatest Part of the Spanish Infantry, yet, while he was treating in Florence, he refused to do it, faying, he would not be the Cause of the Ruin of Casar's Army.

BOURBON, on the Sixteenth Day, ad-Bourbon vanced and encamped at Santa Sofia, a passes the Town of the Valley of Galeata, subject to Appennines the Florentines, labouring, by Speed and Fraud, to prevent all Obstacles in his Pasfage of the Alps, where, on account of the Want of Provisions, any cross Accident would have been enough to diforder the Army. On the Seventeenth having received, at San Pietro in Bagno, Letters from the Viceroy, and from the Lieute-

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#### OF THE HISTORY

280 A. D. nant, notifying the Viceroy's Coming, he answered to them both, that their Advices had found him in so inconvenient a Quarter, that it was impossible to expect him there, but that he would wait for them the next Day at Santa Maria in Bagno. at the Foot of the Alps; shewing himfelf, especially in his Letter to the Lieuof Bourbon tenant, very defirous of an Accommodation, and to make known to the Pontiff his good Disposition, and his Devotion, though his Mind was otherwise disposed. The Viceroy came the Day appointed, and the fame Day the Lieutenant, fuspecting the March of Bourbon, that the Enemy might not enter Tuscany before the Succours, perfuaded the Marquis of Saluzzo by many Reasons to march forwards; and having effectually confuted Giovanni Vitturio, the Venetian Proveditor with the Marquis, and others, who, from Fear of exposing the Troops to Danger, demanded that, before they passed into Tuscany, Security should be given of Two Hundred Thousand Ducats, or of some Fortresses in Pledge, conducted him with all his Troops to Berfighelle; from whence

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he wrote to the Pontiff, that he had found . A. D. fuch a Readiness in the Disposition of the 1527. Marquis, that he no longer doubted of making him pass with his Troops into Tuscany, and he affured himself that those of the Venetians would do the same; but that the more the Affairs of Florence were. fecured by their Paffage, the more those of Rome would be endangered; for Bourbon, when no other Hope remained, would be necessitated to betake himself to that Enterprife, and finding himself nearer Rome, it would be difficult for the Succours that should be fent to equal his Speed, fince he might pass the Appennine in two Encampments.

AGAINST fuch an Event the Florentines had before endeavoured to provide themselves with the Assistance of the Venetians and the Duke of Urbino, to whom they had first given Hopes, and afterwards a Promise, that, if their Troops passed into Tuscany, they would enter into the League, and oblige themselves to pay a certain Number of Foot, and not to agree with Cæsar, though the Pontiss

A, D. should set them an Example: And to the Duke of Urbino, who, after passing the Po at Ficheruolo, had on the Thirteenth advanced to Finale, and afterwards to Corticella, they had deputed Palla Rucellai to treat with him on those Points, and offered to restore him the Fortresses of San Leo and Majuolo. Wherefore it was the less difficult to have the Affistance in Readiness, and the rather as Advice came that the Viceroy had not only not found, in the Place appointed, the Duke of Bourbon, who had made flight of him, Viceroy eluded by and had on the same Day employed himhim. felf in paffing the Alps, but had also been in great Danger of being killed by the Peasants, who had risen up in Arms on account of the Losses and Injuries re-

the Peasants, who had risen up in Arms on account of the Losses and Injuries received from the Army. For the Marquis, though the Duke of *Urbino*, drawing him to a Conference at Castel San Piero, endeavoured to interpose either Dissiculties or Delays, was ready to pass the Alps; so that on the Twenty-second of April he encamped at Borgo a San Lorenzo in Mugello, and the Duke of Urbino, unable with any Show of Decency to remove far from

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from him, and unwilling to take upon A. D. himself the Blame of all that might happen, seeing the Readiness of the French, and knowing that the Venetians empowered him to act at Discretion, with Orders, however, if the Florentines did not enter into the Confederacy, as foon as he arrived in Tuscany immediately to repass Confedethe Army, passed also himself, and on derate Army passes. the Twenty-fifth Day of the Month en-into Tulcamped at Barberino.

BOURBON, in the mean time, having the same Day passed the Alps, encamped at the Pieve of San Stefano, which Town bravely repulfed the Attacks of his Men, and from thence fent one of his Gentlemen to the Pontiff, in order to amuse him with the same Arts, and to have the fairer Opportunity to oppress him, to confirm the Defire he had of an Agreement with him, but that, feeing the Stubbornness of his Troops, he accompanied them to avoid greater Mischief, and advised him not to break off the Treaty of an Accommodation, nor regard what further Expences might be necessary. But

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A. D. it was needless to take so much Pains with the Pontiff, who believing too much the Thing which he defired, and defiring too much to be eased of his Expences, as foon as he had Advice of the Convention in Florence, in the Presence, and with the Confent of Bourbon's Agent, had most im-Impolitic prudently disbanded almost all the Infantry of the Black Bands; and Vaude-Step of the Pope. mont, as in Times of the most secure Peace, was gone off by Sea towards Marfeilles.

> ALL the Armies then being arrived in Tuscany, and the Confederates having Intelligence that Bourbon had marched in one Day, which was the Twenty-third, from the Pieve of San Stefano, to encamp at Chiassa near Arezzo, which is Eighteen Miles, a Council was held of the General Officers affembled at Barberino on taking proper Measures: And many of them, with the Agents of the Pontiff and the Florentines, infifting that the united Armies should remove to some Post beyond Florence, to deprive Bourbon of all Means of Access to that City, it was resolved that

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the next Day, the Troops being left to A. D. rest themselves in the same Camp, the 1527. Generals should go to Ancisa, Thirteen Miles distant from Florence, in order to remove the Troops thither, if they found it a Place of Security for a Camp, as Federigo da Bozzolo, the Author of that Counsel, affured them. But the Day after, being on their March, and drawing near to Florence, an Event unforeseen, and which was likely to produce very fad Effects, had it not been remedied, was a great Hinderance to this and other Projects, which would have been put in Execution. For the Animofities and Difaffection in Florence being rifen to a great Height, and almost all the People very uneafy and discontented under the present Government, and the Youth of the City infisting that the Magistrates should deliver them Arms out of the Arfenal, to defend themselves, as they said, against the Soldiers, before any Refolution was taken, on the Twentieth a certain Tumult happening Tumultin as it were by Chance to arife in the Great Square, the greater Part of the People, and almost all the Youth in Arms, began

A. D. to run towards the Townhouse: And, what gave no fmall Incentive to this Tumult was either the Imprudence or Timorousness of Silvio, Cardinal of Cortona, who having appointed to march out of the City to meet the Duke of Urbino for doing him Honour, did not change his Refolution, though he knew that the Tumult was begun before he put himself in Motion. Hence a Rumour spreading through the City that the Cardinal was fled greatly increased the Concourse to the Townhouse, which being seized by the Youth, and the Square filled by the armed Multitude, they constrained the chief Magistrate to proclaim, by solemn Decree, Ippolito and Alessandro, the Pope's Nephews, Rebels, with a Defign to introduce anew the popular Government. But, in the mean time, there entered Florence the Duke and the Marquis, with many Officers, and with the Cardinal of Cortona, and Ippolito de' Medici, and they put in Arms Fifteen Hundred Foot, who had been kept several Days in the City out of Suspicion: With these drawn up in Order they marched all in a Body together towards

A. D. 1527.

towards the Square, which being immediately abandoned by the Multitude, they took Possession of it; but being pelted with Stones, and fired at with Harquebusses by those in the Townhouse, none durst stay in the open Square, but posted themselves in the circumjacent Streets.

Now the Duke of Urbino imagining that the Troops which were in Florence, (a Thing which, tho' it feemed of no Moment, was yet the principal Cause of the Deliverance this Day of the City of Florence from so manifest a Danger) were not fufficient to make him Master of the Townhouse, and judging that, if it were not gained before Night, the Populace would refume their Spirits, and fly again to their Arms, refolved, with the Confent of the three Cardinals that were prefent, namely Cibo, Cortona, and Ridolfi, and of the Marquis of Saluzzo and the Venetian Proveditors, who were all affembled in the Street of the Garbo contiguous to the Square, to call in Part of the Venetian Infantry, which were encamped in the Plain of Florence, near to the City. Hence

A. D. Hence Preparations being made for a dangerous Contest, for the Townhouse could not be taken without the Death of almost all the Nobility who were within it, and there was Danger also that the victorious Soldiers, when once they had embrued their Hands and Weapons in Blood and Slaughter, would in the Heat of their Fury put all the rest of the City to the Sack, it was like to be a very bitter and unfortunate Day for the Floren-Appeased tines, if the Lieutenant had not at that

Appealed tines, if the Lieutenant had not at that by the Prudence of Instant been ready with his Counsel to the Lieu-dispatch that perplexed and urgent Affair.

For feeing Federigo da Bozzolo coming to them, and guessing what had happened, he immediately parted from the Company, and went to meet him, that he might be the first to speak to him. Federigo, in the Beginning of the Tumult, had repaired to the Townhouse, in Hopes of quieting the Uproar by the Authority and Favour which he had obtained with many of the Youth: But unable to effect any Thing, and on the contrary affronted with abusive Words, he had found it very difficult, after several Hours,

fore out of the Townhouse full of Indignation, and knowing how easy it was to take it, on account of the small and undisciplined Force that was in it, he was hastening to incite the other Commanders to make an immediate Attack upon the Place. But the Lieutenant reprefenting to him, in very few Words, how highly the Pontiff would be displeased at all the Diforders that would be confequent, and how detrimental fuch a Proceeding mast be to the common Cause of the Confederacy, and how much better it was to feek rather to appeale than to inflame the Spirits of the Populace, for which Reason it would be of pernicious Confequence to acquaint the Duke of Urbino and the rest with the Facility of mastering the Townhouse, drew him without Difficulty into his Sentiments; so that Federigo discoursing with the others represented the Case directly in the same Light as the Lieutenant would have it, and gave such Hopes of compoling Matters without Arms, that they chose it as the better Way, and requested Vol. IX. both

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A. D. both of them to go together into the Townhouse, and do their best to quiet the Tumult, giving Assurances to all Persons concerned that they should not be charged with having plotted this Day against the State. They went thither under a safe Conduct from those within the Place, and induced them, not without great Difficulty, to abandon the Townhouse, which they were unable to defend.

For which Thus was the Tumult appealed, and he is ill Affairs in the same Situation as before; and yet, as Ingratitude and Calumny are more ready than Praise and Recompense in their Attendance on good Works, tho the Name of the Lieutenant was at that present celebrated with the highest Praises, yet the Cardinal of Cortona soon after complained that, having a more tender Regard to the Sasety of the Citizens, and particularly to Luigi his Brother, at that time Gonfalonier of Justice, than to the Greatness of the Medici, he had, by his artful Proceeding, been the Cause that the State had not that Day been for

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ever established on the Family of the A. D. Medici, by Arms, and with the Blood of the Citizens: And the Multitude afterwards reproached him for having, by representing, when he went into the Townhouse, the Danger greater than it was in Reality, induced them, for the Benefit of the Medici, to surrender without Necessity.

THE Commotion at Florence, the' quieted the fame Day, and without Blood, was however the Origin of very grievous Bad Con-Disorders; and perhaps it may be said sequences of the Tu-that, had it not been for this Event, the mult. Ruin, that very speedily followed, would not have happened. For the Duke of Urbino, and the Marquis of Saluzzo, on occasion of this Tumult, stayed in Florence, and went not to view the Camp of Ancifa, according to Appointment: And the next Day Luigi Pisano, and Marco Foscaro, the Venetian Ambassador residing at Florence, observing the Inconstancy of the City, protested that they would not confent that the Army should pass Florence before the Conclusion of the Confederacy T 2 tenting

1527.

Confederacy under Debate, in which they demanded a Contribution of Ten-Thousand Foot, thinking it a favourable Opportunity to make this Advantage of the Necessity of the Florentines. But at last the Treaty was concluded the 28th Day, referring the Contribution to the Decision of the Pontiff, who was believed by this time to be re-united to the Confederates. Besides, the Time being come for the Payment of the Swifs, and Luigi Pifano, according to the bad Provision made by the Venetians, having no Money to fatisfy them, some Days paffed before it could be procured, fo that the falutary Counsel of marching with the Army to encamp at Ancifa did not take Effect.

occasion of this Turnity

In this State of Affairs the Pontiff remembering how Bourbon had over-reached the Viceroy, and was passed into Tuscany. turned of necessity his Thoughts upon War, and had on the 25th anew concluded a Pope re- Confederacy with the King of France and news his Confederacy with the sting of Trance and Confeder the Venetians, obliging them to affift him racy. with large Sums of Money, and not confenting

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fenting to oblige himself or the Flo- A. D. rentines to contribute beyond their Abili-1527. ties, alledging the Straits to which both he and they were reduced by the vast Expences they had undergone. These Conditions, tho hard, were approved by the Ambaffadors of the Confederates, that the Pontiff might be totally separated from the Agreements made with the Viceroy, but were not approved by the Principals. The Venetians charged their Ambassador Domenico Veniero with concluding, without the Senate's Commission, a Confederacy of burdensome Expence, and of little Fruit, because of the Wavering of the Pontiff, who, they imagined, would, on every Occasion, return to his former Inconstancy, and Defire of Agreement: And the King of France, exhausted of Money, and intent rather on wearying Cafar with the Length of the War, than on Victory, judged it sufficient, at present, to maintain the War with little Expence; and tho' in the Beginning, when he understood that the Pontiff had made a Truce, he was very much concerned at it, yet afterwards, when he had better confi-Pranci

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A. D. dered the State of Affairs, he was even defirous that the Pontiff should dispose the Venetians, without whomhe himself would make no Convention, to accept the Truce.

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But at this time the Pontiff, who was troubled at the Removal of the War into Tuscany, tho' less concerned than if it had been in the Territories of Rome, listed Foot, and made Provision of Money, defigning to fend Renzo da Ceri with a Body of Troops against the Senese, and also to attack them by Sea, that Bourbon being employed in Tuscany might be prevented from taking the Road to Rome, But his Apprehensions on that Account diminished every Day; for he was in Hopes that, from the Difficulty that must attend Bourbon in conducting towards Rome an Army without Provisions, and without Money, and from the Opportunity of the State of Siena, so convenient for him, and where he might at least provide his Troops with Victuals, he would stop and prepare for an Enterprise against the Florentines. But Bourbon, whether he had at first taken a different Resolution, con-

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firmed, as many have told us, fo long A. D. fince as when he was at Finale, by the Authority of the Duke of Ferrara and Geronimo Morone, or doubting of Success in an Enterprise upon Florence, where the Forces of the whole League were afsembled for its Defence, and besides no longer able without Money to maintain the Army, which had hitherto been conducted through fo many Difficulties with vain Promises, and vain Hopes, being under a Necessity to try Fortune or perish, refolved to march on a fudden, and with the utmost Speed, to make an Assault on the City of Rome, where the Prize of Bourbon resolves to the Victory, both to Cæsar and the Sol-march to diers, would be inestimable. And he Rome. had no small Hopes of Conquest, since the Pontiff, with bad Counsel, had disbanded, first the Swiss, and then the Black Bands, and had again, after despairing of an Agreement, set about making Provisions with fuch Slowness, that it was judged he would not have Time to affemble a sufficient Garrison.

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1527.

THE Duke of Bourbon then put himfelf on his March with the Army, from the Territory of Arezzo, on the 26th Day of April, not encumbered with Cannon or Carriages; and making his Way with incredible Speed, without being retarded by the Rains which fell very heavy for some Days, or the Want of Provifions, arrived near Rome at a Time when the Pontiff had hardly received any certain Advice of his Coming, meeting with Approach no Obstacle either in Viterbo, whither the Pope had not Time to fend Troops, nor in any other Place. Wherefore the Pontiff having recourse, as had been foretold him, by very prudent Persons, would be the Case, in his last Necessities, and when they could be of no longer Service to him, to those Remedies which, if he had used the Pope. them in Season, would have been of very great Moment to his Security, created three Cardinals for Money, which, on account of the Straitness of Time, and Urgency of Affairs, could not be paid down, or if it had been paid would have

> been of no further Use on account of the Nearness of the Danger. He called

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es Rome.

together the Romans, and exhorted them A D. to take Arms with all Speed and Alacrity, 1527. for the Defence of their dear Country in fo great a Danger, and the richer Sort in particular to lend their Money for enlifting of Troops. But in this last Article he found no manner of Correspondence to his Defires; on the contrary, it is still fresh in memory that Domenico di Massimo, the richest of all the Romans, offered to lend 100 Ducats, for which he fuffered the Punishment due to such Avarice, his Daughters becoming a Prey to the Soldiers, and himself with his Sons, being made Prisoners, obliged to purchase their Liberty with a most exorbitant Ranfom.

But when Advice came to Florence of Consulta-Bourbon's Decampment, which was sent tion on succouring a Letter from Vitello at Arezzo, anding Rome. did not arrive till it was a Day too late, it was resolved by the Generals that Count Guido Rangone, with his own Horse and those of Count Gajazzo, and 5000 Foot of the Florentines and of the Church, should immediately march with

A. D. with all Speed towards Rome, to be followed by the rest of the Forces as soon as possible, in hopes that, if Bourbon carried Artillery with him, the Succour would arrive at Rome before him; but if he made the best of his Way it would be so quick after him, that having no Artillery, and there being a moderate Number of Desendants in Rome, where the Pope had written he had 6000 Foot, he would be held in Play till this first Relief arrived, after which Rome would be out of Danger.

Rome ill provided.

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But the Quickness of Bourbon, and the slender Provisions made at Rome, defeated all these Designs; for Renzo da Ceri, to whom the Pontiss had given the principal Charge of desending Rome, having for want of Time listed only a few Foot that could be of any Service, but a great Rabble of raw, undisciplined Fellows, got together in a Hurry, out of the Stables of Cardinals and Prelates, and the Shops of Artificers, and from Inns; and having made some Fortifications to the Suburb, which every one thought weak,

weak, but sufficient in his Opinion, he A. D. was fo confident of making a good De-1527. fence, that he would not fuffer the Bridges on the Tiber to be broken down for faving Rome, even if the Suburb, and the Part of the City beyond the Tiber could not be defended; and, what is more, judging all Succours needless, and having learnt that Count Guido was coming with a Reinforcement, he caused the Bishop of Verona to write to him on the Fourth of May, in the Name of the Pontiff, that, fince Rome was fufficiently provided and fortified, he should fend thither only Six or Eight Hundred Harquebusiers, and march with the rest of his Troops to join the Army of the League, in conjunction with which he would do more Service than by shutting himself within Rome. This Letter, tho' it did no Harm, because the Count was not fo far advanced as that he could arrive in Season, was yet a sufficient Evidence what a wrong Judgment he had formed of the present Danger.

But it was no less wonderful, if it be a Wonder that Men know not how, or are unable

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1527.

pfual

Confidence.

unable to refist Fate, that the Pontiff, who A. D. used to despise Renzo da Ceri above all other Generals, should now throw himself Pope's unwholly into his Arms, and repose an entire Confidence in his Judgment; and, what is yet much more surprising, whereas he was usually timorous and daunted at lesser Dangers, and had been several times inclined to abandon Rome, while the Viceroy laid Siege to Frusolone, now, on the contrary, in so greata Danger, divested of his Nature, he had the Constancy to stay in the City, with fuch great Hopes of defending himfelf, that, as if he had taken upon him to be an Agent for his Enemies, he not only prohibited all manner of Persons to leave the Town, but ordered that no Goods should be suffered to be carried out of the Place, as many among the Merchants and others attempted to fend off their Effects by way of the River.

> Bourbon with the Army, on the Fifth of May, encamped in the Meadows near Rome, and with the Infolence of a Soldier fent a Trumpet to the Pontiff to demand a Passage for himself and the Army through

the

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the City of Rome in their Way to the King- A. D. dom of Naples. And the next Morning by Break of Day, refolved to die or conquer, as it was certain that he had but little other Hopes left of his Affairs, he drew near the Suburb on the Quarter of Monte di Santo Spirito, and began a fierce Affault, Rome al-Fortune having befriended him in approaching the Army the more fecurely by the Favour of a thick Fog, which riling before Day covered the Soldiers till they reached the Place where the Attack was made; in the Beginning of which Bourbon, pushing forwards at the very Front of the Troops, in the utmost Despair, not only because, if he did not obtain the Victory, he had no other Resource, but because he fancied the German Foot proceeded but coldly to the Assault, received a Shot of a Bourbon. Harquebus, and fell dead on the Spot. killed. His Death however was fo far from cooling that it rather inflamed the Ardor of the Soldiers, who, after fighting with the greatest Vigour for the Space of Two The City Hours, entered at last the Suburb, being taken. favoured not only by the extraordinary Weakness of the Fortifications, but by

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A. D. the bad Resistance of the Defendants; which last may serve, as well as many other like Instances, for a Demonstration, to those who have not yet learnt to judge of present Events from past Examples, how great a Difference there is between the Valour of Men exercised in War, and that of new Levies, raifed from a promiscuous Rabble, and of a popular Multitude: for Part of the Roman Youth affisted at the Defence, under their own Officers of the Militia, and the Banners of the People. Though many of the Ghibellins, and of the Faction of the Colonnas wished, or at least not feared, Victory to the Imperialists, hoping that, out of Respect to their Party, they should receive no Injury from them, which occafioned also a greater Coldness in the Defence, yet, as it is a difficult Matter to take Towns without Artillery, the Affailants had about One Thousand Men killed on the Spot. As foon as the Soldiers had opened themselves an Entrance, every one betaking himself to a precipitate Flight, and Multitudes running in Crowds to the Castle, the Suburbs were totally

abandoned.

abandoned, and left a Prey to the Con- A. D. querors; and the Pontiff, who waited the 1527. Success in the Palace of the Vatican, having Notice that the Enemy was within the Walls, instantly sled, with many of the Cardinals, into the Castle. Here, holding a Consultation whether it were best to stay there, or retire through Rome, escorted by the Light Horse of his Guards, to some Place of Security, being destined for an Example to shew what Calamities may befal Pontiffs, and also how difficult it is to extinguish their Authority and Majesty, on receiving Advice, by Berardo da Padoua, who had fled from the Imperial Army, of the Death of Bourbon, and that all the Troops, under a Consternation at the Loss of their General, were defirous to make an Agreement with him, he fent out to demand a Parley with their Heads, and unhappily laid afide all Thoughts of removing, he and his Generals being no less irresolute in providing for their Defence in the Castle, than in fetting out from thence to a Place of more Safety. Wherefore the same Day the Spaniards, having found neither Disposi-

tions

A. D. tions nor Resolution for defending the Quarter beyond the Tiber, entered the fame without Refistance, from whence, with the like Eafe, on the fame Evening, an Hour before Night, by the Bridge of Sisto, they entered the City of Rome, where, except those who trusted in the Name of the Faction, and fome Cardinals, who, because they had the Name of having followed the Party of Cæsar, believed themselves in greater Security than others, all the rest of the Court and of the City, as it happens in fuch dreadful Cases, was in Flight and Confusion. After they were entered, every one began to run in all Haste and Disorder to plunder, without the least Regard not only to the Name of Friends, and to the Authority and Dignity of Prelates, but also to Churches and Monasteries, to Reliques honoured with the Concourse of all the World, and to Things confecrated. It would be impossible therefore to relate, and almost to conceive the Calamities of that City, deflined by the Decree of Heaven to the highest Grandeur, but also to frequent Destructions (for in the Year 980 it had been

Sacked.

been facked by the Goths) impossible to A. D. tell the Greatness of the Booty, such was

the Abundance of Riches, and fuch the vast Quantities of rare and precious Things of Courtiers and Merchants there accumulated. But it was yet more increased by the Quality and great Number of the Prisoners, who were obliged to pay an extravagant Price for their Redemption; and, what was a further Augmentation of the Misery and Shame, many Prelates, taken by the Soldiers, especially by the Germans, who were cruel and infolent out of Hatred to the Name of the Roman Church, were fet upon scrubby Beasts, with their Faces backwards, in the Habits and Enfigns of their Dignity, and led about all Rome with the greatest Derision and Contempt. Many were most cruelly tormented, and either expired amidst their Torments, or were fo miserably handled, that they died within a few Days after they had paid their Ransom. There were killed in the Affault, and in the Fury of the Sack, about Four Thoufand Men. The Palaces of all the Cardinals were plundered, except those Pa-

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A. D. laces for which were paid very large Sums of Money, to fave the Merchants, who had taken Refuge there with their Effects, as also the Persons and Effects of many others; and some of those which had been compounded for with the Spaniards were afterwards either plundered by the Germans, or underwent a new Composition with them. The Marchioness of Mantoua compounded for her Palace at Fifty Thousand Ducats, which were paid by the Merchants and others who had fled thither; and it is reported that Don Ferrando, her Son, had Ten Thousand Ducats for his Share. The Cardinal of Siena, devoted to the Imperial Name by antient Inheritance from his Progenitors, after he had compounded for himself and his Palace with the Spaniards, was made a Prisoner by the Germans, and, after his Palace had been plundered by them, and himself carried into the Suburb, bareheaded, and forely buffeted, forced to redeem himself from them with Five Thousand Ducats. The Cardinals of Minerva and Ponzetta underwent almost the like Calamity, being taken Prisoners

by the Germans, and paying their Ransom, A. D. after they had been both of them first, 1527. led about in a vile Manner all over Rome in Procession. The Spanish and German Prelates and Cardinals, imagining themfelves fecure from being injured by their own Countrymen, were taken, and treated with no less Severity than the others. You might hear the lamentable Cries and Shrieks of the Roman Women, and of the Nuns, hurried away to Bands of Soldiers to fatiate their Lust; so that it might be truly faid, Hidden to Mortals are the Judgments of God, who was pleased to permit the renowned Chastity of the Roman Women to fall by Force a Sacrifice to fo great a Degree of Brutality and Mifery. All Places refounded with infinite Lamentations of those who were miferably tormented, fome to constrain them to pay their Ransom, others to difcover their secreted Effects. All consecrated Things, the Sacraments, and the Reliques of Saints, of which the Churches were full, were spoiled of their Ornaments, and thrown about the Ground, with infinite Marks of Contempt from the Ger-

man

Hands of the Soldiers, which was mostly Things of the least Value, was afterwards carried away by the Peasants of the Colonnas that came into the Town, as did Cardinal Colonna himself, who arrived the next Day, and saved many Women who had fled to his House. It was reported that the Plunder in Money, Gold and Silver Plate, and Jewels, amounted to above a Million of Ducats, but what was raised by Ransoms made yet a much greater Sum.

THE same Day that the Imperialists took Rome, Count Guido, with the Light Horse, and Eight Hundred Harquebusiers, arrived at Ponte di Salara, in order to enter Rome the same Evening; but understanding the Success, he retired to Otricoli, where he joined the rest of his Troops. For tho' he had received Letters from Rome which despised his Succours, he would by no means despise the Fame of being the Man who had succoured Rome, and had therefore continued his March. And there were not wanting some, as it is the

the Nature of those who are kind and gen- A. D. tle Estimators of their own Actions, but fevere Censurers of the Actions of others. who blame Count Guido for not being fo wife as to difcern a very fair Opportunity. For the Imperialists being all very intent on fo rich a Prey, some in stripping the Houses, others in searching out Concealments, others in making Prisoners, and fecuring them afterwards, were dispersed all over the City without any fettled Quarters, without reforting to their Colours, and without paying any Obedience to the Commands of their Generals. Hence many were of Opinion that, if the Troops which were with Count Guido had been speedily conducted into Rome, they would not only have procured, by presenting themselves before the Castle, which was not befieged nor blockaded, the Deliverance of the Pontiff, but would have had an Opportunity of performing a more glorious Exploit, the Enemies being fo bufy about their Prey, that it would have been difficult, on any Occasion, to get together any considerable Number, especially as it is certain that some Days

A. D. after, when by Orders of the Generals,

or on some Accident, an Alarm was given,
not a Soldier appeared under his Colours.
But Men often persuade themselves that,
if such a Thing had been done or not
done, there would have succeeded a certain Effect, whereas, if the Experiment
might be tryed, such Judgments would
be oftentimes found fallible.

Army of the League marches towards Rome.

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THERE remained then no Hopes of Relief for those who were blocked up in the Castle but only from the Army of the League, which did not fet out from Florence till the Third of May, because the Venetians had been dilatory in paying the Swifs, and then proceeded, the Marquis of Saluzzo keeping a Day's March before the Venetian Troops, which, according to the Order fettled between him and the Duke, were to follow by the same Road. The Duke, however, on the Seventh Day, contrary to the Orders that had been given, directed his March from the Camp at Cortona towards Perugia, to arrive at Todi, and from thence at Orti, where he designed to pass the Tiber, and join

join the other Forces. In their March A. D. by the appointed Road they took by Storm and plundered Castel della Pieve, which had refused to quarter the Swiss within the Place, with the Slaughter of Six or Eight Hundred Men of that Town, By this Disorder, the Troops being intent on Pillaging, it was the Tenth Day before they were advanced to Ponte a Granajuolo, where they had Advice of the Lofs of Rome. On the Eleventh they proceeded to Orvieto, from whence, by Advice of Federigo da Bozzolo, the Marquis of Saluzzo, Federigo himself, and Ugo de' Pepoli, with a large Body of Horse, advanced towards the Castle, Federigo and Ugo defigning to approach the Place, while the Marquis remained behind to support them, hoping to find the Imperialists unprovided, and to have an Opportunity, by their fudden Arrival, of carrying off the Pontiff and the Cardinals from the Castle, especially as it was known that the Soldiers, on account of the Greatness of the Booty, had laid afide all other Thoughts, and were intent on nothing else. But the Defign miscarried; for Federigo having ad312

Horse atop of him, by which he was so much bruised, that he could not proceed forwards; and Ugo presenting himself near the Castle, it being broad Day, whereas it had been ordered to arrive by Night, retired, knowing, as he said, that the Enterprise was discovered, but, as Federigo said, more intimidated than he had need to be.

Slow Motions of apprised of the Fortune of Rome, the' he the Duke had declared that he would succour the Of Urbino. Pontiss with all his Forces, yet thinking

Pontiff with all his Forces, yet thinking that he had an Opportunity of taking the Administration of Affairs at Perugia out of the Hands of Gentile Baglione, who was maintained in it by the Authority of the Pontiff, and restoring it to the Sons of Giampaolo, approached Perugia with the Venetian Troops, and with Threats constrained Gentile to quit the Place, and leaving there some Chiefs dependent on Malatesta and Oratio, one of whom was shut up in Castel Santi Angelo, and the other with the Vene-

tian

tian Forces in Lombardy, after he had wasted three Days in this Exploit, he proceeded on the Sixteenth to Orvieto, the Way which he had taken, from the Camp at Cortona to go beyond the Tiber towards Rome, having been the Cause of much Delay. At Orvieto all the General Officers affembled in Council to resolve on future Proceedings; upon this Subject the Duke of Urbino shewing great Warmth in the Preamble to his Speech, represented a Multitude of Difficulties, putting them in Mind above all things to think of fecuring a Retreat, if the Relief of the Castle should not succeed. For this Reason he was for demanding Hostages of Orvieto, that the Army might not fail of being supplied with Provisions at its Return; and requiring a Length of Time for every Affair, he resolved at last to be on the Nineteenth at Nepi, and that the Marquis with his Troops, and Count Guido with the Italian Foot should be the same Day at Bracciano, in order for all to proceed next Day to Isola, a Place Nine Miles distant from Rome.

A. D. THE Pontiff, apprifed of the Coming of these Troops by a Letter of the Lieutenant written from Viterbo, refused, on this Account, when the Agreement was in a manner concluded between him and the Imperialists, to subscribe the Articles, not fo much for the Hope that he received from the Letter, which, tho' written cautiously, gave him some Hints of what, by reasoning on past Events, he might expect for the future, as to avoid the Reproach of having it ascribed to his Cowardice or Precipitation that he had not been succoured. The French shewed a Readiness to succour the Castle, and the Venetians augmented the same Disposition by warm Letters, the Prince having harangued with great Vehemence on the Subject in the Council of the Pregadi. The Duke, therefore, having no Excuse left, consented that the next Day a Review should be taken of all the Troops, hoping perhaps to find them fo much diminished in Number as to give him just Reason for refusing to fight; a Design which proved of no Service, for in the Army, tho' Multitudes had deferted, there

Aill

still remained above Fifteen Thousand A. D. Foot, and all the Troops were wonder- 1527. fully disposed and eager to fight. After Projects the Review, on confulting what was to be for relievdone, many were for going and making Pope an Encampment at the Cross of Monte abortive. Mari, which was follicited by those in the Castle with great Earnestness, alledging that, because it was a strong Post, and three Miles distant from Rome, and there was no Reason to fear that the Imperialists would march forth and encamp without Rome, they might keep Possession of that Post, or make their Retreat without Danger, and from that Quarter might better efpy as well as embrace an Opportunity for relieving the Castle. But the Duke, not pleased with this Resolution, approved of a Way proposed by Guido Rangone, who offered to approach the Castle that very Night with all the Ecclefiastic Horse and Foot, and make an Attempt to get out the Pontiff, provided the Duke of Urbino with the rest of the Army would advance as far as the Tre Capanne to support him. But this Defign was not executed at Night, because the Duke, stimulated

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lated by the Pontiff, rode to view the Camp of Monte Mari, and yet when Night came he did not pass the Tre Capanne, but many Hours being idly spent in this Reconnoitring, it was necessary to defer the Execution of the Defign that had been laid to the next Night. But the fame Day it being reported by certain Spies, either true or suborned, that the Entrenchments made by the Imperialists in the Meadows were stronger than indeed they were, and that they had broken (which also was false) the Wall of the Corridore, through which you go from the Palace of the Vatican to Castel Sant' Angelo in several Places, that on the Discovery of any Troops they might be able to fend immediate Succours from feveral Quarters, and the Duke on this Report proposing many Difficulties, which were all allowed by Guido, and approved by almost all the other General Officers, it was concluded impossible at that Time to relieve the Castle, the Duke sharply rebuking some of the other Officers who endeavoured by disputing to maintain the contrary Opinion.

THUS

A. D.

Thus did the Pontiff remain a Prey, not fo much as a fingle Lance being broken to deliver out of Prison him who, to succour others, had lifted fo many Troops, and spent an infinite Sum of Money, and stirred up War in almost all the World. It was however debated whether what was not effected at present could not hereafter be accomplished with greater Forces. To this Point, which was proposed by the Duke, it was answered by himself, that undoubtedly he might relieve the Castle whenever there should be in the Army the Number of Sixteen Thousand Swifs, hired by Appointment of the Cantons, not including among the Number those in the Army at prefent, as become useless by their long Stay in Italy, and, besides the Swiss, Ten Thousand Italian Harquebufiers, Three Thousand Pioneers, and Forty Pieces of Cannon. Wherefore he defired the Lieutenant to advise the Pontiff, who, he understood, had Provisions for some Weeks, to defer coming to an Agreement till these Forces were affembled. And the Lieutenant replying that

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A. D. 1527.

he approved of his Proposition in case the Situation of Affairs in the mean time received no Alteration; but as it was probable those in Rome would, during that Time, render the Succour more difficult by new Entrenchments and Fortifications; and also that the Troops in the Kingdom of Naples, which had been brought by the Viceroy in the Fleet, would march to Rome; for which Reasons he desired to know what Hopes could be given the Pontiff, when fuch, as it was likely, would be the Events; he answered, that in fuch a Case he would do his best; adding, that if the Troops which were at Naples should join those in Rome, they would make together above Twelve Thoufand German Foot, and between Eight and Ten Thousand Foot Spaniards; and therefore if the Castle should be lost, it could not be imagined that the War would be brought to a good Issue, unless they had actually on Foot a Body of at least Twenty-two, or Twenty-four Thousand Swifs.

THESE Demands being despised by every

the First of June, greatly diminished in 1527.

Foot, retired to Monteruosi, the Pope Army of the had made many Instances for delaying League their Decampment, in order to favour retires. himself with their Stay in the Treaty for an Agreement; and the same Night Piermaria Rosso, and Alessandro Vitello, with Two Hundred Light Horse, went away to Rome to the Enemy.

with the Conditions as ite might have in

THE Pontiff, who had never entertained much Hopes of Relief, thinking himself also in Danger of his Life from the Colonnas and the German Foot, had fent to Siena for the Viceroy, hoping to get better Conditions of him; and the Viceroy went with a good Will, believing that the Army would make him their General. Being arrived at Rome, whither he passed under a safe Conduct from the Generals of the Army, and finding himfelf by no means acceptable to the German and Spanish Foot, who had chosen the Prince of Orange Captain General, he durst not make any Stay there. But as he was taking his Way to Naples, he was

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met on the Road by the Marquis del Guafto, A. D. Don Ugo, and Alarcone, who advised him to return to Rome, and prevailed with him. However, as his Presence was unacceptable to the Army, he had no longer Authority either in Matters of War, or in the Negotiations of Agreement with the Pontiff, who at last, destitute of all Hopes, on the Sixth of June, agreed Pope agrees Imperialifts.

The Terms.

with the Imperialists almost on the same with the Conditions as he might have done before. By this Convention the Pontiff was to pay the Army Four Hundred Thousand Ducats, that is, One Hundred Thousand at present, which were paid with the Money and Gold and Silver Plate conveyed for Safety into the Castle, Fifty Thousand within Twenty Days, and Two Hundred and Fifty Thousand within Two Months, affigning for Payment of this last Sum a pecuniary Tax, to be levied on the whole State of the Church: He was to deliver up to Cæsar, who was to keep Possession as long as he thought fit, Castel Sant' Angelo, with the Castles of Osia, Civita Vecchia, and Civita Castellana, and the Cities of Piacenza, Parma, and Modena:

He was to remain a Prisoner, with all the A. D. Cardinals that were with him, in Number Thirteen, till the first Hundred and Fifty Thousand Ducats were paid; after which they were to be removed to Naples or Gaeta, in expectation of what Cafar should determine concerning them: For Security of the Payments, a third Part of which belonged to the Spaniards, the Pontiff was to give Hostages to the Army, namely, the Archbishops of Siponte and Pifa, the Bishops of Pistoja and Verona, Jacopo Salviati, Simone da Ricafoli, and Lorenzo the Brother of Cardinal Ridolfi: Free Liberty for going out of the Castle was to be granted to Renzo da Ceri, Alberto Pio, Oratio Baglione, and to the Chevalier Cafale, Ambassador of the King of England, with all others who had taken Refuge there, except the Pontiff and the Cardinals: The Pontiff was to absolve the Colonnas from the Censures which they had incurred, and when he should be conducted out of Rome, was to leave there a Legate as his Deputy, and the Court of the Rota to administer Justice.

1322

A. D. and Na die general and most of each

As foon as the Convention was figned, there entered the Castle three Companies of Spanish and three others of German Foot, commanded by Alarcone, who being appointed to take Charge of the Castle, and of the Pontiss, was very diligent in guarding him, confining him to a narrow Apartment, and allowing him but very little Liberty.

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Pope strictly guarded.

Bur the other Fortresses and Towns, that had been promised, were not resigned with the same Facility; for that of Civita Castellana was garrifoned by Commission from the Confederates, and Andrea Doria refused to refign the Castle of Civita Vecchio. tho' he had the Pontiff's Orders to do it, before he was paid Fourteen Thousand Ducats, which, he said, were due to him for his Pay. And when Giuliano, a Roman Architect, by Commission from the Pontiff, and Lewis Count Lodron from the Generals came to Parma and Piacenza with Orders to those Cities to put themfelves under the Dominion of Cafar, tho', on the other hand, the Pontiff had fecretly

Towns
refuse
Submission
to
Caesar.

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fignified to them the contrary, these Places, A. D. abhorring the Government of the Spaniards, refused to grant them Admittance.

But the Modenese were no longer in their own Power; for the Duke of Ferrara, not letting slip the Opportunity prefented him by the Calamities of the Pontiff, and threatening to destroy the Corn which was just ripe, constrained them to furrender their City into his Hands on the Sixth of June, not without Disgrace to Count Lodovico Rangone, who, tho' the Duke had but few Troops with him, abandoned the Place without making any Shew of Resistance. And the Duke in this Affair despised the Authority of the Venetians, who advised him not to make, at fuch a Juncture, any Innovation to the Prejudice of the Church. And yet they themselves, having some Intelligence with Ravenna feized by the Guelfs of Ravenna, fent thither somethe Vene-Troops under Colour of guarding it for tians. fear of those of Cotignuola, and appropriated that City to themselves, and took also the Castle, the Governor being privately affaffinated, publishing that they X 2 would

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A. D. would hold the Place in the Name of the whole League. And a few Days after they seized on Cervia, and the Saltworks there which belonged to the Pontiff, in whose State, as there was none to guard or defend it, except so far as was done by the People themselves of their own Acpending by cord, and for their own Interest, Sigif-Malatesta. mondo Malatesta, with the same Ease, took Possessin Possessin of the City and Castle of Rimini.

Revolution at F.orence.

Nor had the Affairs of the Pontiff met with any better Success in the City of Florence; for as foon as the News arrived there of the Loss of Rome, the Cardinal of Cortona, terrified to find himself abandoned by the Citizens, who made Profession of being Friends of the Medici, having no Way to make Provision of Money but by violent and extraordinary Means, and loth, out of Covetouineis, to break in upon his own Stock, at least till he was apprifed of the Progress of the Armies which were marching to fuccour the Pontiff, not induced by any Necessity, for there was a good Number of Soldiers in the City, and the People, difmayed at DIDOW what

what had happened on their seizing the A. D. Townhouse, would not have ventured to 1527. ftir, refolved to give way to Fortune; and, calling an Affembly of the Citizens, he put them in full and free Possession of the Administration of the Republic, on obtaining certain Privileges and Exemptions, with Leave for the Pontiff's Nephews to stay in Florence as private Citizens, and a general Amnesty for all past Offences against the State. These Things being fettled on the Sixteenth of May, the Cardinals, with the Pontiff's Nephews, departed to Lucca, where, foon repenting of the Resolution that he had taken with fo much Timorousness, he try'd. whether he could retain the Citadels of Pisa and Livorno, which were in the Hands of Governors that were trufty Friends to the Pontiff, who however, within a very few Days, despairing of Relief on account of the Pope's Captivity, and receiving also a certain Sum of Money, refigned those Fortresses to the Florentines. The City being reduced to a popular Government, the Florentines created Gonfalonier of Justice for one Year, and with a Power to

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## THE HISTORY OF

be confirmed for three Years, Nicolo Capponi, a Citizen of great Authority, and a Lover of Liberty. This Person, defirous above all Things of Concord among the Citizens, and that the Government should be reduced to the most perfect Form that was possible of a Republic, calling together the next Day the Great Council, in which refided the absolute Power of enacting Laws, and of creating all the Magistrates, spoke as follows:

THE Words of the Gonfalonier were of very great Weight, and his Counsel was certainly very prudent, and if the Citizens had hearkened to it, the new Liberty would perhaps have been of longer Duration. But as Spite and Indignation are more conspicuous in those who recover Liberty, than in those who defend it, and the Hatred of the People towards the gainst the Name of the Medici was great on many Accounts, and especially because they had in a great measure supported with their

Florentines incenfed a-

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A. D.

own

own Money the Enterprises undertaken A. by them; fince it appears that they fpent in getting Possession, and afterwards in the Defence of the Dutchy of Urbino, above Five Hundred Thousand Ducats, as much more in the War excited by Leo against the King of France, and in the Troubles that succeeded after his Death, and were dependant on that War, Three Hundred Thousand paid to the Imperial Generals and the Viceroy before and after the Creation of Clement, and now above Six Hundred Thousand in the War undertaken against Cæsar; they began to persecute immoderately those Citizens who had been Friends of the Medici, and, to testify their Aversion to the Name of the Pontiff, they defaced with great Eagerness the Arms of the Medici in all Parts of the City, even those affixed to Edifices erected by that Family; they broke in Pieces the Statues of Leo and Clement that stood in the Church of the Annunciata, famous throughout the World; they appropriated the Pope's Effects to the Payment of old Debts, and the greater Part of them omitted nothing that could ferve

X4

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A. D. to provoke the Anger of the Pontiff, and to foment Divisions and Discord in the City, and they would have proceeded to more and greater Diforders, had it not been for the Interposition of the Prudence and Authority of the Gonfalonier, which however were not fufficient to remedy many Irregularities.

Bur in Rome were arrived the Marquis del Guasto, and Don Ugo, with all the German and Spanish Foot that were in the Kingdom of Naples; fo that there were faid to be affembled together Eight Thousand Spaniards, Twelve Thousand Germans, and Four Thousand Italians; an Army that, by the Reputation it had acquired, by the Terror that it carried. and by the weak Provisions that were lists difor made to oppose it, must have made whatever Progress it pleased in Italy. But the Prince of Orange being General only in Name and Title, the Army was in Fact governed by itself, and being wholly intent on Booty and Ransoms, and collecting the Money promised by the Pontiff, had no Thought on the Interest of Cafar.

Imperiaderly in Rome.

The

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The Soldiers therefore had no Mind to A. D. leave Rome, where behaving themselves in a tumultuous and disorderly Manner, the Viceroy, and the Marquis del Guasto, apprehensive of Danger to their Persons from the Troops, left the City; and those who remained in it were exposed to the Pestilence, which was already begun, Plague in and afterwards made terrible Havock in the Place.

By this Conduct the Imperialists lost the Opportunity for many Enterprises, and especially for the Acquisition of Bologna, which City, tho', after the Loss of Rome, Ugo de' Peppoli had entered it with One Thousand Foot, in the Pay of the Venetians, yet Lorenzo Malvezzi raifing a Tumult, with the tacit Confent of Ramazotto, and with the Assistance of the Faction of the Bentivogli, was with Difficulty kept in Obedience to the Apostolic See: And, what is perhaps of no less Importance, they gave Time to the King of France to fend a very powerful Army into Italy, by which Caefar was in very great Danger, after acquiring so signal an Advantage,

A. D. Advantage, of losing the Kingdom of 1527. Naples. For, a long Time having been fpent before in France on making Prepa-Confede. racy between the rations for a new War, the Confederacy, which had been many Months under Ne-Kings of Franceand gotiation between the King of France England. and the King of England, was concluded on the 24th of April, on Condition, That the Daughter of the King of England should be married either to the King of France, or to the Duke of Orleans, his fecond Son; and that in the Interview between the two Kings, which was defigned to be at Whitfuntide between Calais and Bologne, it should be agreed to which of them she should be given: That the King of England should renounce the Title of King of France, receiving in Recompense a yearly Pension of Fifty Thousand Ducats: That he should enter into the League made at Rome, and be bound to commence a War. some time in July next, against Casar, beyond the Mountains, with Nine Thoufand Foot, and the King of France with Eighteen Thousand, and a suitable Num-

ber of Lances and Artillery; and that, in

the

Advantage,

the mean time, they should each of them fend Ambassadors to Cæsar, to intimate to him the Confederacy they had made, and to demand of him the Releasement of the Children, and to enter into the Peace on honourable Conditions; and, in cafe he should not accept the Offer within one Month, to denounce War, and to begin Acts of Hostility. This Agreement being made, the King of England immediately entered into the League, and he and the King of France sent post two Messengers to give the appointed Intimations to Cæfar, which was performed with more Readiness by the French and English Ambassadors, than had been done by Commission from the Pontisf; for Baldasfarre da Castiglione, his Nuncio, saying that it was not fit to exasperate the Mind of Cæsar to such a degree, refused to denounce War against him.

But Advice coming afterwards to France of the Loss of Rome, and the lesser Sorrow of the Missortune of the Pontiff being tempered with the greater Joy for the Death of Bourbon, the King

not

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not thinking it fit to let the Affairs of

A. D. King of France makes a new Awith the

Italy run to Ruin, on the Fifteenth of May, agreed with the Venetians to take into their common Pay Ten Thousand Swils, he making them the first Payment, greement and the Venetians the second, and so for Venetians, the future successively; and to send Ten Thousand French Foot under Pietro Navarra, while the Venetians were to inlift Ten Thousand Italian Foot between them and the Duk of Milan; also to fend a new Supply of Five Hundred Lances, and Eighteen Pieces of Artillery. And because the King of England, notwithstanding the Conventions that had been made, did not readily concur in beginning Hostilities on the other Side of the Mountains, which also was not agreeable to the King of France, each of them being defirous to keep the War at a Distance from his own Kingdom, they dispensed with him from that Obligation, and agreed that the King of England should pay for the War of Italy Ten Thousand Foot for fix Months; and, at the Instances of that King chiefly, Lautrech, tho' in a manner against

against his Will, was chosen Captain Ge- Anneral of the whole Army.

333 A. D. 1527.

While Lautrech was preparing to pass the Alps, with Provision of Money and other Things necessary, nothing of Moment happened in Italy: For the Imperial Army did not remove from Rome, tho' many of them were fwept off every Day - by the Malignity of the Pestilence, which at the same time made very great Progresses in Florence, and in many Parts of Italy; and the Army of the League, into Motions which, at the Instances of the Marquis of of the Saluzzo and the Venetians, the Florentines the had anew entered, with an Obligation to League. pay Five Thousand Foot, (by which Cafar was highly offended, because having, at their own Sollicitations, commissioned the Duke of Ferrara to compound in his Name with the Florentines, he received almost immediate Notice of the contrary Resolution) greatly diminished in Number, because the Troops of the Venetians and the Marquis of Saluzzo, and the Swiss were but badly paid, was retired on the Side of Viterbo, and employed in tempo1527.

temporifing, and endeavouring to preferve A, D. in their Devotion to the League the Cities of Perugia, Orvieto, Spoleto, and other neighbouring Towns. Here, on receiving Advice afterwards that Part of the Imperial Army was marched out of Rome, tho' it was only for the Sake of refreshing themselves with the pure and open Air, being apprehensive that they would be followed by all the rest after the first Payment, the Army retired to Orvieto, and afterwards near to Castello della Pieve, from whence it would have retired further into the Dominions of the Florentines, if they would have confented.

> THE Pestilence had also spread itself into the Castle of Sant' Angelo, with great Danger to the Pope's Life, for some of those who served about his Person died of it. Labouring therefore under so many Calamities, and having no Hopes but in the Clemency of Cæsar, he appointed for Legate to him, with the Confent of the Generals, Alessandro Cardinal Farnese, who, after he had, on this Occasion, got himfelf out of the Castle and out of Rome. refused

Pope appoints a Legate to Cafar.

Certiff.

refused to go on the Legation. The Ge- A. D. nerals had a Mind to conduct the Pontiff, 1527. and the thirteen Cardinals that were with with him, to Gaeta, but by great Diligence, Intreaties and Art, he diverted their Refolution. And leville of mode beningers

berline million

AT last Lautrech, having made the ne- Lautrech cessary Dispatches, set out from Court, on sets out for the last day of June, with Eight Hundred Lances, and with the Title, because the King was pleased to have it so, of Captain General of all the League; and the King of England, instead of Ten Thousand Foot, was rated to pay, beginning with June, Thirty Two Thousand Crowns each Month, with which were to be paid Ten Thousand German Foot, under Vaudemont, a choice Body of Troops, and much exercifed, having given several Defeats to the Lutherans. The King of France hired also Andrea Doria, with eight Gallies, and Thirty Six Thousand Crowns each Year.

But, before Lautrech had passed the Mountains, the Troops of the Venetians, and

A. D. and of the Duke of Milan, in conjunction 1527. advanced to Marignano, from whence Antonio da Leva, marching out of Milan with Eight Hundred Spanish and as many Italian Foot, and a good Body of Horse, constrained them to retire. About the fame Time the Governor of Mus, who was taken into the Pay of the King of France, while he waited on the Lake of Como for the Coming of the Swifs, took by Stratagem the Castle of Monguzzo, situate between Lecco and Como, in which refided Alessandro Bentivogli, as in his own House. Antonio da Leva sent Lodovico da Belgiojoso to recover it, who, after storming it in vain, went off to Moncia. But Antonio afterwards, having Notice that the Governor was advanced with Two Thousand Five Hundred Foot to Carato a Country Seat fourteen Miles distant from Milan, returned to that City, where leaving only Two Hundred Men, tho' the Venetians were within ten Miles of it, he set out by Night with the rest of the Army, and by Sunrise made a sudden Attack on the Troops of the Governor, which, on hearing the Noise, issued out of 1 1923

the Houses, where they quartered, and re-A. D. tired into a Plain surrounded with Hedges 1527 near the House, not imagining that all the Governor Enemy's Troops were there; but tho' they routed. put themselves in Order, they were in that low Place, as in a Prison without Defence, taken and killed, except a good Number which fled in the Beginning, on perceiving that the Governor had done the same.

In the mean time Cæsar had, by a Pope's Letter from the Great Chancellor, who Missortune how was come into Italy pursuant to his Orders, taken by dated at Monaco, received Advice of the Capture of the Pontist; and tho' in \* Words he pretended to be extremely concerned at it, yet it was perceived that in Secret he had been very well pleased with it, nay he did not wholly abstain from shewing extream Marks of his Satisfaction, not having, on this Account, put a Stop to the Rejoicings, begun before, for the Birth of a Son.

Vol. IX. But

<sup>\*</sup> The Emperor, as foon as he understood that the Pontiff was taken, put on Black in token of Mourning, and made a Show of great Grief. Tarcagnotta.

338 A. D.

1527.

Bur the Deliverance of the Pontiff being most ardently desired by the King of England, and by the Cardinal of York, and their Authority interesting in it also the King of France, who, if he had recovered his Children, would have but little Concern for the Misfortunes of the Pontiff, or of all Italy, the two Kings His Liber jointly fent Ambassadors to Casar to demand his Liberty, as a Matter that concerned all the Christian Princes in gene-

ty demanded by the Kings of ral, and as due in particular from Cafar, Franceand England.

depending on whose Honour, he had, by his Generals, and by his Army, been reduced to fuch great Misery. At the same time they follicited the Cardinals that were in Italy to join with the Ultramontane Cardinals in holding an Affembly at Avignon, in order to confult, in fo difficult a Juncture, on what was to be done for the Benefit of the Church. But the Italian Cardinals, to avoid putting themselves all in the Hands of such powerful Princes, refused, tho' with different Excuses, to repair to Avignon. On the other fide Cardinal Salviati, Legate with

the

the King of France, requested by the A. D. Pontiff to repair to Cæsar's Court, in order to take care of his Affairs at the Coming of Don Ugo, who was to go thither according to Agreement in the Treaty, refused to comply, as if it were of pernicious Consequence that so many Cardinals should be in the Power of Cafar. He fent however, by a Gentleman of his Bedchamber, the Instructions he had received from Rome to the Auditor of the Chamber, resident with Casar, in order to treat with him, who put him off with very kind Words, but a varying and uncertain Resolution. Casar could have wished that the Person of the Pontiff might be conducted into Spain; but because it was a Thing in itself full of Scandal, and that he might not offer to great a Provocation to the King of England, and also because all the Kingdoms of Spain, and especially the Prelates and Lords, highly detested that a Roman Emperor, the Protector and Advocate of the Church, should, so greatly to the Dishonour of all Christendom, keep in Prison the Man who represented the Person of Christ on Y 2 Earth,

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Ordered

A. D. Earth, for these Reasons, after he had given a gracious Answer to the Ambassadors, and, as to the Instances which they made to him for Peace, faid he was content that the King of England should have the Management of it, which was accepted by them, he fent, on the Third of August, the General of the Franciscans into Italy, and four days after Veri di Migliau, both of them, as it was faid, with a Commission to the Viceroy for by Casar. the Deliverance of the Pope, and the Restitution of all the Towns and Fortreffes that had been taken from him. He confented also that, for his Support, his Nuncio should fend him a certain Sum of Money raifed by Collection in those Kingdoms, which in their Cortes, or Parliaments, had refused to grant Money to Cæfar.

> ABOUT this Time, towards the End of July, the Cardinal of York, with Twelve Hundred Horse, passed over to Calice. The King of France, willing to give him a very favourable Reception, fent the Cardinal of Lorrain to meet him ;

and

and after this the King himself, on the A. D. Third of August, went to Amiens, into 1527. which York the next Day made his Entry with extraordinary Pomp, being the more respected, because he had brought with him Three Hundred Thousand Crowns for occurrent Expences, and to lend to the King of France, if he should want it. Here Debates were held between them on Matters relating to Peace and War; and tho' the Views of the King of France were different from those of the King of England, for he would have left the Pontiff and Italy for a Prey to obtain his Children, yet he had been under the Neceffity to promise him to make no Agreement with Cæsar without the Releasement of the Pontiff. Wherefore, when Articles of Cafar had fent the Articles of Peace to the Peace fent King of England, it was answered, in the kings to Name of both the Kings, that they would Cafar. accept of the Peace with the Restitution

Times, two Millions of Ducats, the Freedom of the Pontiff, and of the Eccle-fiaftic State, the Prefervation of all the States and Governments of *Italy* as they

of the Children, paying him, at certain

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were

### THE HISTORY OF

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Peace. And it was agreed between them that, on Cæsar's Acceptance of these Articles, the Daughter of England should be given in Marriage to the Duke of Orleans, that the Matrimony of the King with Cæsar's Sister might go forward; but if the Peace did not succeed, she should be married to the King. Having fent these Articles, they resused to grant a Pass to a Man whom Cæsar asked Leave to send into France, answering him, that there needed no more than sending him the said Articles.

On Cæsar's Refusal to accept these Ar-On his rejecting ticles, the Peace and Confederacy between them War the two Kings was, on the 18th day of refolved. August, sworn and solemnly published: And they refolved to make a vigorous War in Italy, with a View principally to the Deliverance of the Pontiff, but freely intrusting the Manner and Means of profecuting it to the Skill and Management of Lautrech, who, before his Departure, had obtained of his King all the Difpatches he demanded, the King being

bent

bent on making a last and as it were defi- A nitive Effort. York was also willing that the Chevalier Cafale, who was intrusted with the Thirty Two Thousand Ducats payable each Month, should attend the Camp as Agent for his King, to be certified that the Number of Germans was complete. The Management of the War in Italy being thus fettled, York fet out on his Return, dispatching away at his Departure the Protonotary Gambero to the Pontiff, to advise him to constitute him his universal Vicar in France, England, and Germany, during his Imprisonment.

In the mean time few Acts of Hostility passed in Italy, there being great Expectations of the Coming of Lautrech. For the Imperial Army, full of Diforder, and disobedient to their Generals, burdensome to their Friends, and to the conquered Towns, made no Motion, nor gave any Fear to their Enemies. The Spanish and Italian Infantry, to avoid the Contagion of the Pestilence, were dispersed in Quarters in the Country about Rome. The Prince of Orange, with One Hundred and VIII V

### THE HISTORY OF

A. D. and fifty Horse was gone to Siena, both to avoid the Plague, and to keep that City firm to the Interest of Cæsar, having before sent thither some Foot. For the People of that Place, excited by seditumultatious Heads, had tumultuously plundered siena. the Houses of the Citizens of the Monte de' Nove, and massacred Pietro Borghess, a Citizen of Authority, together with a Son of his, and sixteen or eighteen others.

IN Rome there remained now only the Germans, over-run with the Plague, who having been, with very great Difficulty, fatisfied by the Pontiff as to the first Payment of One Hundred and Fifty Thoufand Crowns, partly in Money, partly in Bills on the Merchants of Genoa, to be paid out of the Tenths of the Kingdom of Naples, and the Sale of Benevento, demanded, for the rest of the Money that was due, other Securities, and another Affignment besides the Tax laid on the Ecclefiaftic State; Things impossible to the Pontiff, while under Imprisonment. Wherefore, after using many Threatenings with the Hostages, and keeping them in Chains with

with very great Severity, they led them A. D. forth in an ignominious Manner into the

forth, in an ignominious Manner, into the Campo di Fiore, where they erected a Gibbet, as if they intended to hang them up immediately. After this they all Motion of marched out of Rome, without Command- the Armies. ers of any Authority, rather to take the Benefit of the Air, and to refresh themfelves, than with a Defign to undertake any thing of Importance; and, having plundered the Cities of Terni and Narni, Spoleto agreed to give them Passage and Provisions. Wherefore the Army of the Allies, for the Security of Perugia, made a Motion, in order to encamp at Pontenuovo beyond that City, having before lain encamped on the Lake of Perugia, but much diminished in Number with respect to the Obligations of the Confederates. For the Marquis had three Hundred Lances, three Hundred French Archers, three Thousand Swifs, and One Thousand Italian Foot: and the Duke of Urbino had with him Five Hundred Men at Arms, three Hundred Light Horse, one Thousand German Foot, and two Thousand Italians; the Venetians alledging, in their Excuse, that they

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A. D. they fulfilled their Obligation by the 1527. Troops which they kept in the Dutchy of Milan. The Florentines had Eighty Men at Arms, One Hundred and Fifty Light Horse, and Four Thousand Foot; being under a Necessity of keeping themselves better provided than the other by their continual Apprehensions that the Imperial Army would invade Tuscany, on which Account their Troops were regularly paid, which was not the Case of the other Forces.

But the Duke of Urbino, besides his Duke of old Difficulties, was under very great De-Drbino under Dif-pleasure. jection, almost to Despair, on knowing that the King of France and Lautrech did not fpeak honourably of him; but much more because he was in very bad Esteem with the Venetians, who, grown suspicious either of his Fidelity or of his Constancy, had set a strict Guard over his Wife and Son, who were in Venice, that they might not depart without their Leave, and openly condemned his Advice, which was, that Lautrech should march towards Rome without making any Attempt in Lombardy. THIS

THIS Army therefore lay idle and unactive, in which Situation they took it as a great Favour not to be disturbed by the Imperialists, who advanced no further that Way; but not long after, on receiving of the Marquis del Guasto, who was come to the Army, two Crowns each Man, the Germans, in no good Harmony with the Spaniards, returned to Rome, the Spaniards and Italians remaining in their Quarters extended to Alviano, Tigliano, Castiglione della Teverina, and towards Bolsena; but the Forces were so greatly diminished, especially the Germans, by the Pestilence, that it was believed Cæfar had not in his Army diwhole Army above Ten Thousand Footminished. left.

But before this Departure the Generals of the League did an Act worthy of eternal Infamy: For Gentile Baglione being returned to Perugia with the Consent of Oratio, who, declaring that the Differences between them were pernicious to all, had pretended to be reconciled to him, Federigo da Bozzolo, with the Consent of all the Generals,

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Generals, went thither to fignify to him A. D. that, having found out that he held private Correspondence with the Enemy, they had thought fit to fecure his Person, though he justified himself, and promised to go to Castiglione del Lago, and left him in the Custody of Gigante Corfo, a Colonel of the Venetians. But the same Evening he Infamous was murdered with two of his Nephews Action. by some of Oratio's Ruffians, and by his Orders, who also about the same time caused another Murder to be committed. out of Perugia, on Galectto, the Brother of Braccio, and who was also a Nephew of Gentile.

The Confederates after this sent some Troops to take Possession of Camerino, on Advice that the Duke was dead; but Sforza Baglione was already arrived there in the Name of the Imperialists, and afterwards Sciarra Colonna entered the Place in Behalf of Ridolfo his Son-in-Law, Son of the deceased Duke. After this the Marquis of Saluzzo, and Federigo, with a good Number of Horse, and one Thousand Foot, made an Assault by night on the Abbey

t was believed

Abbey of San Pietro near Terni, in which A. D. were Piermaria Rosso and Alessandro Vitelli with Two Hundred Horse, and Four Hundred Foot. This Enterprise, tho' rash in itself, because the Place was not to be taken with fuch a Garrison without Artillery, was yet rendered successful either by the Imprudence or Avarice of those Officers, who had the same Day fent One Hundred and Fifty Harquebusiers to pillage a neighbouring Castle, and fo had left themselves destitute of Troops necessary for their Defence; by which means, tho' they defended themfelves many Hours, they were forced at last to yield at Discretion, with Safety Abbey of however to the Persons of Piermaria taken by Rosso and Alessandro Vitelli, with their the Con-Effects, these Officers being both wound-federates. ed, one in the Leg, and the other in the Hand, with Harquebuses.

At this time the River Tiber, breaking its Banks in three or four Places, made an Inundation, with very great Damage to the Camp of the League, which obliged the Generals to return towards Ascess,

A. D. the Imperialists still continuing between 1527. Terni and Narni. Afterwards, advancing Motionsof further, the Duke of Urbino took up his the Confederate Ar. Quarters at Narni, the French at Bevagna, my. and the Black Bands, commanded by Oratio Baglione, Captain General of the

and the Black Bands, commanded by Oratio Baglione, Captain General of the Florentine Infantry, having no Quarters affigned them, entered the Town of Montefalco, and plundered it. Part of their Foot afterwards attacked le Presse, a Castle to which were retired Ridolfo da Varano and Beatrice his Wife, who unable to defend themselves surrendered at Discretion, tho' not long after they recovered their Liberty; for Sciarra, unable any longer to maintain himself in Possession of Camerino, on account of the Molestation he received from the Army of the League, made an Agreement to evacuate it, on condition of redeeming his Son-in-Law and his Daughter. The Marquis of Saluzzo and Federigo attempted alfo, with the French Cavalry and Two Thousand Foot, to surprise and strip the Spanish Horse quartered in Monte ritondo and Lamentano without Guards or Scouts, according to the Report of Mario Orfini. It was a March

of three Days, but they proceeded with so A. D. little Order that they were discovered, and returned back without doing any Thing, having designed, in order to intercept the Enemy's Flight, to cut at the same time the Bridge of Teverone.

Nor much different from these Operations during the whole Summer were Campaign those of the Soldiers in Lombardy, where bardy unthe Troops of the Venetians and of the active. Duke having joined together near Milan, with an Intention to cut the Corn of that Territory, had routed the Convoy of Provisions, killed One Hundred Foot, and taken Thirty Men at Arms, with Three Hundred serviceable and unserviceable Horses. But they proceeded no farther against the Corn, because the Troops of the Venetians, according to their Custom, soon diminished. Andrea Doria with his Fleet was retired towards Savona, and the Genoese, laying hold on that Opportunity, had recovered Specie.

But the Operations in Lombardy began afterwards to grow warm by the Arrival

A. D. rival of Lautrech with Part of the Army in Piedmont. That General, not to stand idle Lautrech while he waited for the rest, in the Beginarrives in Piedmont. ning of August laid Siege to the Town of Bosco in the Territory of Alessandria, which had a Garrison of One Thousand Foot most part Germans, who defended themfelves with the greatest Obstinacy, because Lautrech, provok'd at their having killed fome Swifs, refused to accept them if they did not yield themselves absolutely to his Discretion; and they received frequent Advices and Encouragements from Lodovico Lodrone, who had the Care of defending Alessandria, because his Wife and Children were in Bosco. At last, being annoyed Night and Day with Artillery, and apprehensive of Mines, after enduring fuch great Fatigues for ten Days, they submitted to Lautrech's Disposal, who made the Officers Prisoners, and spared the Lives of the Soldiers, but on condition that the Spaniards returned to Spain by the Way of France, and the Germans to Germany through the Country of the Swifs,

> and that each Man, according to the Cuftom of military Oftentation, should march

Takes Bosco.

out of Bosco without Arms, and with a A. D. Stick in his Hand; but he freely restored to Count Lodovico his Wife and Children.

This Acquisition was followed by prosperous Success in the Affairs of Genoa: For five Ships, four of them laden with Corn, and the other with Merchandise, being arrived at Portofino, bound for Genoa, from whence nine Gallies were failed in order to convoy them safe into that Port, it happened that, on advice of the Approach of Cefare Fregoso with Two Thousand Men to Genoa by Land, almost all the Men in Portofino retired to that City, abandoning the Fleet. This gave an Opportunity to Andrea Doria to block them up with his Gallies in the same Port, where the Genoese, knowing themselves unable to resist, disarmed the Gallies, and put the Men ashore; so that of the nine Gallies, one being burnt, eight fell into the Hands of the Enemy, together with the Ships laden with Corn, and the Caraque Giustiniana, bound from the Levant, and faid to be worth One Hundred Thousand Ducats At this Exploit were also affistant some VOL. IX. other

354 A. D.

ters of

Genoa.

other French Gallies, which, having before taken five Ships laden with Corn, and bound for Genoa, had afterwards cast Anchor behind Codemonte, between Portofino and Gerea; and about this time fome Foot, listed by the Adorni to be put into Genoa, were routed at Priacroce, a Place fituated among those Mountains. Misfortune, added to fo many other Losses of several Vessels, deprived the Genoese, reduced to the last Extremity, of all Hopes of supporting themselves any longer, tho' about the same time Cefare Fregofo, who had approached to San Pietro della Rena, had been forced to retire. But being more afraid of Famine than of the Forces of the Enemy, and constrained by extreme Necessity, they fent Am-French be. bassadors to Lautrech to capitulate. An-

come Mas-toniotto Adorno, the Doge, retired into the Castelletto; and the Tumults being appealed, chiefly by the Means of Filippino Doria, who was a Prisoner there, the City returned under the Dominion of the King of France, who appointed Teodoro da Trivulzi Governor.

Lautrech

Lautrech after this approached Alessan- A. D. dria, having in his Army a Body of Eight 1527. Thousand Swifs, which continually decreased, Ten Thousand Foot of Pietro Navarra, Three Thousand Gascons, newly brought into Italy by the Baron de Bearn, and Three Thousand Foot of the Duke of Milan. In Alessandria were Fifteen Hundred Foot, who were much disheartened by the Loss of the Germans that were in Bosco; but Five Hundred Foot with Alberigo da Belgiojoso having afterwards entered the City by the neighbouring Hills, they refumed Courage, and defended themselves bravely. But the Battery being redoubled in feveral Places by the Arrival of the Artillery in the Army, and of the Troops of the Venetians, tho' neither by Land nor by Sea did they furnish the Quota to which they were obliged, and the Approaches at the fame time vigoroufly carried on by means of Trenches and Mines, according to the constant Manner of Pietro Navarra in all Sieges, the Garrison was constrained to furrender, with Safety to their Per-Lautrech takes Aleffons and Effects. Sandria

THE

356 A. D.

THE Conquest of Alessandria gave Beginning to some Disputes between the Confederates: For Lautrech defigning to leave Five Hundred Foot in Garrison, that his Troops might at all Events have a fufficient Receptacle, and those which were coming from France the Conveniency of Affembling, and putting themfelves in fresh Order in that City, the Ambaffador of the Duke of Milan, suspecting that this was the Beginning or First-fruits of his Intentions to feize on that State for his King, opposed it with vehement Words and Protests, and the Venetian Ambassador resenting it almost as much as the other, the Ambassador of England also interposing in behalf of the Duke, Lautrech, tho' with heavy Indignation, yielded to leave the City free to the Duke left to the of Milan: A Step which was perhaps of great Prejudice to that Expedition; for

The City Duke of Milan.

> tended with more Negligence to the Acquisition of Milan, either out of Displeafure, or because he would reserve it for a Time when he could turn it to his own

Advantage, without Regard to others.

many are of Opinion that Lautrech at-

AFTER

AFTER the Loss of Alessandria, it not A. D. being doubted that Lautrech would pro- 1527. ceed to make an Attempt either on Milan or Pavia, it was reported that Antonio da Leva, who had One Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms, and Five Thousand German and Spanish Foot, distrusting his being able to defend Milan with fo few Troops, and under fo many Difficulties, thought of retiring to Pavia. But confidering the small Stock of Provisions in Pavia, and that he could not maintain the Army by Extortions in that City, as he had most rigorously done in Milan, he resolved at last to stay where he was, and fent Lodovico da Belgiojoso to take upon him the Defence of Pavia, and granted to as many of the Milanese as were willing to purchase it with Money Leave to quit the City. But Lautrech, tho' much diminished in Swiss, proceeding forwards took possession of Vigevano, after which laying a Bridge over the Tefino, and paffing his Army, he took his March towards Benerola, a Place four Miles distant from Milan, making a show as if he intended, as the Venetians advised him, to lay Siege

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A. D. to that City, but in reality resolved to take 1527. fuch Measures as should appear to him most easy to be put in Execution. But receiving Intelligence, when he was advanced within eight Miles of Milan, that Belgiojoso had the Night before detached thither Four Hundred Foot, so that there remained but Eight Hundred in Pavia, he turned his March, and the next Day, which was the Eighth of September, arrived at the Monastery of the Carthusians, from whence he marched with great Speed, and fat down before Pavia, to the Succour of which City Antonio da Leva having, as foon as he understood the Resolution of Lautrech, sent three Colours of Foot, they were debarred from Entrance, so that from the small Number of Defendants it appeared impossible to make Resistance: And yet Belgiojoso, when the People of the City supplicated him to permit them to make a Capitulation, for avoiding the Saccage and Destruction of the Place, refused to hearken to them. But Lautrech having continued his Battering four Days, and beat down fo much of the Wall that the few Defendants

fendants were insufficient to repair it, at A. D. length Belgiojoso sent to Lautrech a Trumpet, who not being able to speak with him so soon, because he happened to be gone into the Camp of the Venetians, the Soldiers approached and entered the Town through the Breaches in the Wall. Bel-taken and giojoso seeing this opened the Gate, and sacked. went forth and surrendered himself to the French, by whom he was sent Prisoner to Genoa. The City was put to the Sack, and the French committed great Cruelties in it for Eight Days together, and set Fire to it in many Places, in Memory of the Overthrow they had received in the Park.

AFTER this it was debated whether it was best to undertake the Conquest of further Milan, or proceed to wards Rome. The Flo-Proceed-rentines insisted on marching forward, out of Fear that, if Lautrech stopped in Lombardy, the Imperial Army would march out of Rome, and fall upon their Territories. But they were contradicted by the Venetians, and by the Duke of Milan, who came on purpose to Pavia to sollicit

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A. D. the Enterprise on Milan, representing the fair Opportunity that offered for taking that City, and the great Advantage that would refult from that Conquest to the Enterprise on Naples. For if Milan were taken the Imperialists would have no Hopes left of receiving any Succours from Germany; but, while that Door remained open, there would be always Reason to fear that a numerous Army, coming from that Quarter, would either put Lautrech in Danger, or divert him from the Expedition of Naples. To this it was answered by that General, that he was necessitated to march forwards by the Orders of his King, and of the King of England, who had fent him into Italy principally for the Deliverance of the Pontiff. To this Resolution it was Supposed he might be induced by a Suspicion that, if he acquired the Dutchy of Milan, the Venetians, reckoning themselves fecure from the Danger of Cæsar's Greatness, would be negligent in affisting him in the Enterprise on the Kingdom of Naples. And perhaps a no less Motive might be the King's imagining it would be of Service to his Affairs that Francesco Sforza should

should not intirely recover that State, so A. D. that, having it still in his Power to make an Offer of leaving it in the Hands of Cæsar, he might the more easily obtain the Deliverance of his Children by way of an Agreement, which was continually negotiated with Cæsar by the French, English, and Venetian Ambassadors.

BUT many Difficulties arose in this Negotiation; for Cæsar insisted that the Cause of Francesco Sforza should be tried Demands at Law, and that, during the Trial, theof Cafar. whole State should be in his Possession. promifing, at all Events, not to appropriate it to himself. He demanded that the Venetians should pay the Archduke the Remainder of the Two Hundred Thousand Ducats due to him by the Treaty of Worms; this the Venetian Ambassador did not refuse, provided the Archduke fulfilled the Articles, and restor'd the Places according to Obligation. He demanded that they would either restore to their Exiles, according to Agreement, One Hundred Thoufand Ducats, or affign them a Revenue of Five Thousand: That they should pay what

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what they stood indebted to him for the Confederacy made with him, which he would have to be renewed: That they should restore to the Church Ravenna, and relinquish all that they possessed in the Dutchy of Milan. He demanded of the Florentines Thirty Thousand Ducats for Expences undergone, and Losses received by their Non-observance. He confented that the King of France should pay the King of England for him 450,000 Ducats, for the rest, amounting with the aforesaid, to Two Millions, he demanded Hostages. He defired Twelve Gallies of the King of France for his Paffage into Italy, but did not infift any farther on Horse or Foot; and that, as soon as the Agreement was stipulated, all the French Troops should depart out of Italy; which the King refused, if his Children were not first restored to him.

Conflancy THE Loss of Alessandria and Pavia, of Casfar. which was expected to cause Casfar to moderate those Demands, made him, according to his Custom of not yielding to Difficulties, the more pertinacious; so that when

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when the Auditor of the Chamber came A. D. to him on the Fifteenth of October from: England to follicit, in that King's Name, the Deliverance of the Pontiff, he anfwered, he had taken Care for that by the General, and that, as to the Agreement, he would neither for Love nor Force alter the Conditions which he had first proposed. But it was understood for certain that Cæfar was not much inclined to Peace, fince there were many Reasons that gave him Encouragement against the Power of his Enemies: For he was confident of making Resistance in Italy by the Valour of his Army, and by the Facility of defending the Towns; that he could at any time with little Difficulty procure the Passage of fresh German Foot; that the King of France and the Venetians were exhausted by the long Expences, and that their Provisions, as is customary in Leagues, were interrupted and diminished. He depended on raifing Money enough in Spain, confidering that he maintained the War at a much cheaper Rate than his Adversaries by the Rapines of his Soldiers. He was in Hopes also by some

Arts

## THE HISTORY OF

A. D. Arts to disunite or render more negligent the Confederates. And, in the last place, he promised himself great Matters from his extraordinary Felicity, confirmed by the Experience of many Years, and progno sticated to him by innumerable Predictions even from his Childhood.

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Proceed- BUT Lautrech at this time was fol-Lautrech. licitous that the Fleets, which were to attack either Sicily or the Kingdom of Naples, should proceed forward. That of the Venetians, whose Provisions neither by Land nor Sea were equal to their Obligations, was at Corfu, and Sixteen Gallies were required to come and join with Andrea Doria, who expected in the Riviera of Genoa Renzo da Ceri, who was appointed to command the Fleet for that Enterprise. Lautrech after this sent back into France Four Hundred Lances, and Three Thousand Foot, and agreed with the Venetians, whom he advised to restore Ravenna to the College of Cardinals, and with the Duke of Milan, that, in order to defend what had been conquered, they should keep their Troops, Arts with

with whom was Janus Fregoso and Count A. D. Gajazzo, within a Camp strongly fortified at Landriano, a Seat about two Miles distant from Milan, by the Vicinity of which, the Troops that were in Milan being unable to make Excursions abroad, it would be easy, as it was imagined, to defend Pavia, Moncia, Biagrassa, Marignano, Vigevano, and Alessandria. Having fettled these Matters, Lautrech with Fifteen Hundred Swifs, as many Germans, and Six Thousand French and Gascons, on the Eighteenth of October, passed the PoHe passes over against Castel San Giovanni, with an the Pa-Intention to wait for the German Foot, of which but a small Part was as yet arrived, and another Party of Foot of the same Nation, which the King of France had fent to inlift in the Room of the Swifs, who were in a manner all gone off. From this Place he was necessitated to order Pietro Navarra to return over the Po. with the Gascon and Italian Foot to the Relief of Biagrossa, to which Town, being in the Custody of the Duke of Milan, Antonio da Leva, understanding that it was ill provided, had on the Twenty Eighth

A. D. Eighth of October laid Siege with Four Thousand Foot, and Six Pieces of Cannon, and having obtained it the fecond Day by Agreement was preparing to pass into the Lomellina to recover Vigevano and Novara; but, on Advice of the Coming of Pietro Navarra with a greater Force, he returned to Milan; so that Navarra easily recovered Biagrassa, which Francesco Sforza took Care to get better provided.

Reasons of Lautrecb's

Lautrech now manifestly appeared to delay on purpose his Departure; and tho' he alledged that he had been detain-Slowness. ed in expectation of the German Foot, with a Part of whom Vaudemont was at length arrived, and the rest were expected, and complained of the slender Provisions of the Venetians in all respects, yet it was doubted that the Expectation of Money from France had been the Caufe. But the true and more cogent Reason was that the King, in Hopes of Peace, which was under close Negotiation with Cafar, had given him Orders that, diffembling this Cause, he should proceed slowly. Hence

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also it proceeded that the King had not been ready to pay his Share of the Germans that had been hired in the Room of the Swiss, nor those who were first appointed to come with Vaudemont.

WITH these either Necessities or Excuses Lautrech taking up his Quarters in Piacenza, while the Army encamped between Piacenza and Parma, the Difficulties which had obstructed an Accommodation with the Duke of Ferrara were removed. Lautrech had, as foon as he arrived in Italy, earnestly sollicited him to enter into the Confederacy; a Step, which on one hand the Duke was defirous of taking on account of the Affinity proposed to him with the King of France, but on the other retained by the Distrust which he had of the Valour of the French, and a Jealoufy that the King at last, to recover his Children, would come to an Agreement with Cafar. Intimidated however by the Menaces of Lautrech he had demanded that the Affair should be negotiated at Ferrara, because in a Business that so nearly concerned him he was willing to have the ManageA. D. Management of it himself. Wherefore the Ambassadors of all the Confederates repaired to Ferrara, as did also Cardinal Cibo in the Name of the Cardinals assembled at Parma, where the Duke, induced by the Progress of Lautrech, after he had endeavoured to convince General George and Andrea di Burgo, who were very honourably entertained by him at Ferrara,

Duke of Ferrara enters into the League.

nourably entertained by him at Ferrara, of the Necessity he was under of coming to an Agreement, at last agreed, but on Conditions which demonstrated either his Industry, or his great Knowledge in Negotiation, and that he had not in vain follicited to have the Treaty debated in his Presence, or else the great Desire that the other had to draw him into the Confederacy. He entered into it with an Obligation to pay every Month, for fix Months fucceffively, from Six Thousand to Ten Thousand Crowns, according to the Arbitration of the King of France, who afterwards fettled it at Six Thousand, and to furnish Lautrech with One Hundred Men at Arms paid by himself. On the other fide the Confederates obliged themselves to protect him and his State; to give him

Cotignuola, which the Venetians had a little A D. before taken from the Spaniards, in exchange for the antient and almost uninhabited City of Adria, which he demanded with Importunity; to cause Restitution to be made to him of the Palaces which he formerly possessed in Venice and Florence; to give him Leave to wrest from Alberto Pio the Fortress of Novi, situate near the Borders of the Mantouan, and at that time befieged by him; to pay him the Revenues of the Archbishopric of Milan, if the Imperialists should be troublesome, and obstruct the Payment to the Archbishop his Son. Cardinal Cibo, in the Name of the Cardinals, who promifed the Ratification of the College, obliged the Pontiff to renew the Investiture of Ferrara, to renounce the Rights to Modena acquired by the Purchase of it from Maximilian; to annul the Obligation of Salts; to confent to the Protection of the Duke undertaken by the Confederates; to promise, by virtue of Apostolic Bulls, to leave him and his Successors in free Possession of all that he possessed; and that the Pontiff should make his Son a Cardinal, and confer on Vol. IX. Aa him

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A. D. him the Bishopric of Modena, vacant by the Death of Cardinal Rangone. This Confederacy was bound with the Tye of Affinity, by the Marriage of Renée, the Daughter of King Lewis, to Ercole, the Duke's eldest Son, with the Dutchy of Chartres As also the Mar- in Dowry, befides other honourable Conquis of ditions. The Marquis of Mantoua also, Mantoua at the Sollicitations of Lautrech entered into the Confederacy, tho' he was before in the Service and Pay of Cæsar.

But the Army of the Confederates Situation was much weakened, and remained many of the Ar- Days unactive between Foligno, Montefalco, and Bevagna: And the Duke of Urbino, understanding that his Wife and Son were under Custody in Venice, set out Post from the Camp, without Orders from the Senate, in a great Hurry, to go and justify himself; but, on receiving Advice on the Road of their being fet at Liberty, and that the Senate, being fatisfied with him, defired he would proceed no further, he returned to the Army; where the Swiss and the Marquis's Foot received no Pay, and the Venetians, neither here nor in

Lombardy, where they were obliged to A. D. keep Nine Thousand Foot, ever kept the third Part. The Troops retired afterwards into the Territory of Todi, and the adjacent Parts; and the Spaniards at the End of November lay about Corneto and Toscanella, and the Germans at Rome, whither the Prince of Orange was returned from Siena, where he had spent a short time in fruitless Endeavours to restore Order to that Government. And it is not doubted that, if the Imperial Army had made a Motion forwards, the Duke of Urbino, and the Marquis of Saluzzo, would have retired with the Army under the Walls of Florence, tho' they used to talk in a boasting manner that, in order to stop their Paffage into Tuscany, they would post themselves either in Orvieto and Viterbo, or in the Territory of Siena towards Chiusi and Sartiano.

BUT Lautrech, though the German Lautrech's Foot were now arrived, proceeding, on ac-Projects. count of the Expectations from the Treaty of Peace, with his usual Slowness, had taken up his Residence in Parma. And

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A. D. yet, tho' that City and Piacenza with their Citadels were wholly at his Devotion, and he had collected from both these Cities and their Territories about Fifty Thousand Ducats, it was believed that he had a Defign not only to keep in his Power Parma and Piacenza, but, in order to render Bologna dependent on the King's Authority, to transfer the Lordship of that City into the Family of the Pepoli.

THESE Designs however were rendered abortive by the Deliverance of the Pontiff, to which tho' it did not at first appear that Cæsar would readily condescend, because he had delayed, above a Month after the News of his Captivity, to take any Resolution about it, yet, apprised afterwards of the Arrival of Lautrech in Italy, and the Eagerness of the King of England for a War, he had dispatched the General of the Franciscans, and Veri di Migliau with Orders on that Head to the Viceroy; who dying at Gaeta about the time that the General arrived, it was necessary to treat of the Affair with Don Ugo di Moncada, to whom also extended the Commission of

Cæfar,

Cæfar, and whom the Viceroy had substi- A. D. tuted in his Room, till a new Appointment to the Administration of the Kingdom of Naples came from Spain. The General, after conferring with Don Ugo, took his Way to Rome, accompanied by Migliau, who had come from Spain with the fame Commission as the General. Affair comprehended two principal Articles; the Pontiff one, that the Pontiff should satisfy the Army in a Debt of a very large Sum of Money; the other concerned the Security of Cæsar, that the Pontiff, when set at Liberty, might not fall off and adhere to his Enemies: And, for the Observance of this Article were proposed hard Conditions of Hostages, and of Security of Towns. By those Difficulties the Debate was prolonged, and to facilitate it the Pontiff had often follicited, and was now continually, tho privately, folliciting Lautrech to advance forwards, declaring that it was his Intention to promise nothing to the Imperialists, unless forced; and that, in such a Case, when he was once out of Prison, he would observe nothing as soon as he could convey himself into a Place of Security, which he

would endeavour to accomplish as little to

their Aa3

#### THE HISTORY OF

A. D. their Convenience as possible; and, if he found come to an Agreement, he begged that Compassion on his Missfortunes and Necessities might make his Excuse. But, while these Things were under Debate, the Hostages at the End of November sled secretly out of Rome, to the vast Indignation of the Germans.

Pope's! Enemies.

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TEDIOUS were the Disputes on this Affair, those whose Business it was to determine them not agreeing in the fame Opinion: For Don Ugo, though he had fent Serenon his Secretary, in company with others, to Rome, yet, out of the Malignity of his Nature, and his Aversion to the Pontiff, had but little Inclination to a Composition; on the contrary, the General was eager for it, from a Defire of being made a Cardinal. Migliau opposed it as pernicious to Cæfar's Interest, and when he could not prevail went away for Naples. where he afterwards fuffered the Punishment of his Impiety, being killed in a Skirmish at the Beginning of the Siege with a Shot of a Harquebus.

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375 A. D.

No R was the Pontiff wanting to himfelf, for he drew over to his Interest
Geronimo Morone, whose Counsel was of He makes
great Authority with the Imperialists in all

great Authority with the Imperialists in all Deliberations, conferring the Bishopric of Modena on his Son, and promifing him certain Stores of Corn which he had at Corneto, worth above Twelve Thousand Ducats. But he was no less industrious in gaining the Favour of Cardinal Colonna, promising him the Legateship of the Marca, and professing to him, when, after his Arrival at Rome, he came to pay him a Visit in the Castle, that he desired to be principally obliged to him for fo great a Benefit; artfully also instilling into his Ears a Notion that he could not wish for greater Glory, or greater Felicity, than to make it known to all the World, that it was in his Power to depress Pontiffs, and in his Power, when they were humbled to the Dust, to raise them, and restore them to their pristine Grandeur. This Cardinal, who was very lofty and vainglorious by Nature, moved by fuch Infinuations and Professions, readily promoted the Release-

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A. D. ment, imagining that it was as easy for the Pontiff, when set at Liberty, to forget fo many Injuries, as it had been, when a Prisoner, most humbly to recommend to him with Prayers and Tears his Deliverance.

Reasons for his Deliverance.

THESE Difficulties were in some meafure removed by the new Commission from Cæsar, who gave positive Orders that the Pontiff should be released as much to his Satisfaction as possible; adding that it was sufficient for him if the Pontiff, after his Deliverance, did not adhere less to him than to the Confederates. But it is believed that no other Consideration so much promoted the Affair as the Necessity incumbent on the Generals, from the Apprehenfions of the Coming of Lautrech, to lead that Army to the Defence of the Kingdom of Naples: A Thing impossible if the Troops were not first secured of their Arrears, in recompense of which they would not admit so much Plunder, and such great Gains as they had made in the fame Time; this Necessity of providing for the Payments was also the Reason why less Care

377 Care was taken to have Security of the A. D. 1527. Pontiff for the Time to come.

AT length after a long Negotiation, on the last Day of October, the AgreementHe is set was concluded in Rome, with the General at Liberty of the Franciscans, and with Serenon in the Name of Don Ugo, who afterwards ratified it. The Pope, by this Convention, was to take no Part against Cæsar in the Affair of Milan and Naples: He was to grant him the Croifade in Spain, and a Tenth of the Ecclefiastical Revenues in all his Kingdoms: For fecuring of his Obfervance Oftia, and Civita vecchia, which City Andrea Doria had before evacuated, were to remain in the Hands of Cafar; to whom also he was to refign Civita Castellana, which Town, Mario Perusco, the Chancellor of the Exchequer\*, being entered into the Citadel, by very fecret Orders of the Pontiff, tho' he pretended the contrary, had refused to admit the Imperialists; he was to refign also the Citadel of Forli: For Ha stages he was to deliver Ippolito and Alejfandro his Nephews, and till they came from Parma, the Cardinals Pilano, Trivulzio.

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A. D. 1527. vulzio, and Gaddi, who were conducted by the Soldiers into the Kingdom of Naples: He was obliged to pay immediately to the Germans Seventy Seven Thousand Ducats, and to the Spaniards Thirty-five Thousand, on condition that they would leave him at Liberty with all the Cardinals, and march out of Rome and out of the Castle; deeming himself at Liberty whenever he should be conducted in Safety to Orvieto, Spoleto, or Perugia: Within a Fortnight after his Departure from Rome he was to pay another like Sum to the Germans, and the rest, which, with the aforesaid Sum, amounted to above Three Hundred and Fifty Thousand Ducats, he was to pay, within three Months after, to the Germans and Spaniards according to their respective Shares.

Pope's Ways of raifing Money. For Observance of these Conditions the Pontiff, having recourse to those Means for his coming out of Prison which he could not be induced to employ for preventing his Entrance into it, created some Cardinals for Money, Persons for the most part unworthy of so great an Honour. For

further

dinal Colonna to Grottaferrata.

further Supplies he granted the Tenths in the Kingdom of Naples, with Power to alienate the Goods of the Church; what was dedicated to the Worship of God being converted, by Grant from the Vicar of Christ, so deep are the Divine Judgments! to the Use and Maintenance of Heretics. By such Means having settled and secured the Payments at the promised Terms, he gave also as Hostages for the Security of the Soldiers the Cardinals Cesis and Orsino, who were conducted by Car-

The Pontiff having dispatched all these Affairs, and the Ninth Day of December Gets pribeing appointed for the Spaniards to con-vately out of the duct him into a Place of Security, appre-Castle. hensive of some Variation on account of the ill Will which he knew Don Ugo bore towards him, and of every other Accident that might possibly intervene, in the Night before, as soon as it was dark, secretly went out of the Castle in the Habit of a Merchant, and was by Luigi da Gonzaga, in the Service of the Imperialists, who with a large Company of Harquebusiers

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A. D. fiers waited for him in the Meadows, accompanied as far as Montefiascone, where dismissing almost all the Soldiers Luigi himself attended him to Orvieto, into which City he entered by Night, not one of the Cardinals accompanying him. An Example certainly very remarkable, and perhaps fuch as had never been feen fince the Church became great: A Pontiff fallen from fo great a Height of Power and Reverence, confined in a Prison, Rome lost, and all the State of the Church reduced under the Power of Strangers; the same Pontiff in the Space of a few Months restored to Liberty, the State that had been feized left free to him, and in a very short Time after refuming his former Grandeur. So great with Christian Princes is the Authority of the Pontificate, and the Respect universally paid it !

Proceeding: in the Milanese.

AT this Time Antonio da Leva sent out of Milan the Spanish and Italian Foot to provide themselves with Victuals, and to recover the weaker Places of the Country, and that they might also open a convenient Way for the Conveyance of Provisions

visions to Milan; these Troops possessed 4. D. themselves of that Part of the Territory of 1527. Milan which is called Sepri. He also ordered out Filippo Torniello with Twelve Hundred Foot, and some Horse for Novara, in which City were Four Hundred Foot of the Duke of Milan. Torniello entered the Town through the Castle, which had always held out for Cæsar, made himfelf Master of it with little Opposition, disarmed the Foot, and sent them back to their Habitations, and remained himself in Novara for scouring the circumjacent Country. Part of the German Foot were bestowed in Arona, and the rest in Mortara, and the Duke having reinforced them with some other Foot, for the Defence of the Lomellina, and of the Country, Torniello was not at Liberty to extend his Quarters to any confiderable Distance, so that no Actions happened that Winter but frequent Skirmishes, all Parties employing themselves in robbing their Friends as well as Enemies, to the utter Defolation of the whole Country.

A. D. 1527.

dispersed

by a

Storm.

ABOUT this Time also Andrea Doria, with his own and fourteen French Gallies, joined fixteen Gallies of the Venetians at Livorno, and, having taken on board Renzo da Ceri with Three Thousand Foot in order to make a Descent, on the Thirteenth of November set sail from that Port. tho' it had at first been resolved to attack the Island of Sicily, they altered their Refolution, and steered away for Sardinia with a Defign to make an Attempt on that Island, induced, as it was supposed, by the Persuasions of Andrea Doria, whose Brain was perhaps teeming with new Projects; and Lautrech confented to this Enterprise in rates Fleet hopes that the Conquest of Sardinia would greatly facilitate the Acquisition of Sicily. Whatever was the Cause, the Gallies met with very tempestuous Weather, and were dispersed over the Sea. One of the French Gallies was cast away near the Coast of Sardinia; four Gallies of the Venetians,

> much distressed, returned to Livorno; the French Gallies were driven by the Violence of the Winds into Corfica, from whence they afterwards joined four Venetian Gal-

> > lies

lies in Porto Vecchio, the other Eight of A. D. the Venetians in a shattered Condition put-

ting back into Livorno. At last the Undertaking was laid afide, great Differences remaining between Andrea Doria and Renzo da Ceri.

BUT Lautrech, who, when he was in Reggio, received Advice of the Releasement of the Pontiff, left the Citadel of Parma to the Ecclefiastic Officers, and Lautrech proceeded to Bologna. In this City he proceeds stopped in Expectation of the last German to Bologna Foot, who in five Days after arrived in the Bolognese, not in Number Six Thousand, as had been defigned, but only Three Thousand. He sojourned however twenty Days in Bologna, waiting Advice from the King of France of the ultimate Resolution on the Negotiation of Peace, and in the mean time folliciting with utmost Earnestness the Pontiff, seconded also by the Authority of the King of England, to declare openly for the Confederates.

THE Pontiff, a few Days after his Ar-Pope's rival at Orvieto, was visited and congratu-Proceedings at lated Orvieto.

A. D. lated by the Duke of Urbino, the Marquis of Saluzzo, Federigo da Bozzolo, who died a few Days after a natural Death at Todi, and Luigi Pisano, the Venetian Proveditor, and had requested them with the greatest Instances to remove their Troops from the Ecclesiastic State, assuring them that the Imperialists had promifed him to evacuate the State of the Church, provided the Army of the Confederates would do the same. He had written also a Brief to Lautrech, thanking him for the Services he had done towards his Deliverance, and for advising him to get himself released at any Rate; acknowledging that these Services had been of so great Moment to constrain the Imperialists to come to a Determination, that he pretended himself no less obliged to the King and to him than if he had been delivered by their Arms, the Progress of which he would willingly have expected, had he not been bound by Neceffity, because the Conditions proposed to him were continually altered for the worse, and because he was plainly convinced there was no other Way to obtain his Liberty but by means of an Agreement, which

3°5 A. D. 1527.

which the more he deferred, the more the A. Authority and State of the Church went to Ruin; but what above all moved him, was the Hopes that he should be so happy as to become a seasonable Instrument for promoting the common Good with his King, and the other Christian Princes. These were at first his Expressions, which seemed full of Sincerity and Simplicity, and such as were becoming the Pontifical Office, and especially a Pontiff who had received such grave and severe Admonitions from God.

RETAINING however his accustomed 15282 Nature, and his Prison not having taught him to divest himself of his Crastiness nor Covetousness, on the Arrival, in the Beginning of the Year 1528, of some Agents dispatched by Lautrech and Gregorio da (asale, Ambassador of the King of England, to require him to confederate with the others, he began to amuse them with various Answers, sometimes giving His crafty them Hopes, fometimes excufing himfelf, and evaand protesting that, having neither Money, swers. nor Men, nor Authority, his Declaration VOL. IX. could Bb

1528.

A. D. could be of no Service to them, and yet might be prejudicial to himself, fince it would give Cause to the Imperialists to molest him in many Places; sometimes giving Hopes that he should be willing to fatisfy their Demand, if Lautrech proceeded forwards; which he greatly wanted, that the Germans might be necessitated to depart from Rome, where they lay confuming the Reliques of that wretched City, and all the circumjacent Country, and having cast off all Obedience to their Officers, and often engaged in Tumults among themselves, refused to leave the Place, demanding more Money and Payments.

Bur at the End of the preceding Year, and much more in the Beginning of this, it began manifestly to appear that the Negotiations of Peace would be fruitless, and that the Animosities between the Princes were the more exasperated by them. For when almost all Difficulties were removed, since Casar did not refuse the Dutchy of Milan to Francesco Sforza, and to compound with the Venetians, Florentines. COUNT

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rentines, and the rest of the Confederates, the only Dispute was, which ought first to be put in Execution, either the Depar-Great and fole Diffiture of the Army of the King of France out culty of Italy, or the Restitution of the Children. prevent-The King denied to oblige himself to remove the Army from Italy before he had recovered his Children, but he offered to put Hostages into the Hands of the King of England, for Security of the Observance of the Penalties to which he obliged himself, if he did not, immediately after the Recovery of the Children, recal the Army. Cæfar insisted on the contrary, offering the fame Cautions in the Hands of the King of England; and it being disputed which had most Reason to trust the other, Cafar said he could put no Trust in a Person wha had once deceived him; to which it was answered, by the French Ambassadors, that the more he pretended himself deceived by the King of France, the less Reason had the King of France to put any Trust in him; nor was the Offer of Caefur to put the same Security in the Hands of the King of England which the King of France offered Bb 2

A. D. 1528.

offered to put an equal Offer, because it was not also an equal Case, since what Cæsar promised to do was of so much greater Moment that what the King of France promised, and therefore required a greater Security. They added, in the last place, that the Ambassadors of the King of England, who had a Commission from their King to oblige him to enforce the Observance of what the King of France promised, had no Commission to oblige him for the Observance of what Cæfar might promise; and that their Powers being limited, and their Time prefixed, they could neither exceed nor wait. On this Dispute there was no coming to a Resolution, because Casar had not the fame Inclination to Peace that his Council had, perfuading himself that if he should lose Naples he might have it back again by the Restitution of the Children; and the Great Chancellor, who was long before returned into Spain, was strongly charged with perplexing the Negotiations of Peace with Points of Law, and fophistical Interpretations.

1528.

AT last the French and English Ambaffadors resolved, pursuant to the Orders which they had in case of Despair of an Agreement, to demand of Cafar Leave to depart, and after that immediately to denounce War. With this Resolution on the Twenty-first of January the English Ambassadors, followed by the Ambasfadors of the Venetians, of the Duke of Milan, and of the Florentines, appeared before Cæfar then residing with the Court at Burgos, and the English Ambassadors demanded of him the Four Hundred and Fifty Thousand Ducats lent him by their King, Six Hundred Thousand for the Penalty he had incurred by the Repudiation of the Daughter of England, and Five Hundred Thousand for the Pensions of the King of France, and other Pretences. These things being proposed for the greater Iustification, all the Ambassadors of the Allies demanded his Leave to depart. To this he answered, that he would confult with his Council what was fit to be done, but it was necessary that, before their Departure, his own Ambassadors also B b 3 should

## THE HISTORY OF

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France

against

Cæsar.

A. D. should be in a Place of Security. The Am-1528. baffadors were no fooner gone out than the Heralds of the King of France and of the King of England entered, and made a Deand Engclaration of War. Crefar accepted it with land declare War a joyful Heart, and then ordered that the Ambaffadors of the King of France, of the Venetians, and of the Florentines should be conducted to a Country Seat thirty Miles from Court, where they were put under a Guard of Archers and Halberdiers, and forbidden all Correspondence and the Liberty of Writing; to the Ambassador of the Duke of Milan he gave Orders, as to his Subject, not to leave the Court; as to the English Ambassador no Innovation was made. Penalty he had locurred

ALL Negotiations of Peace being thus Lautrech broken off, the Parties breathed nothing but proceeds for Naples War, which had its Seat and Management folely in Italy. Here Lautrech, then, stimulated by his King, but much more by the King of England, after the Hopes of Peace began to diminish, had, on the Ninth of January, fet out from Bologna, and directed his March towards the Kingdom

of

of Naples, by the Way of Romagna and A. D. the Marca; a Way chosen by him after 1528. much Confultation, contrary to the Instances of the Pontiff, who was defirous to take the Opportunity of his Passage for re-establishing Fabio Petrucci, and the Monte de' Nove in Siena; and also to the Sollicitations of the Florentines, who intreated him to take that Road, that his Army might be more at hand to fuccour them, if the Imperialists, in order to make a Diversion, should put themselves in Motion to invade Tuscany. But Lautrech chose rather to enter the Kingdom of Naples by the Way of the Tronto, because it was a Road more convenient for Conveyance of the Artillery, and abounded more with Provisions, and because he would not give an Opportunity to the Enemy to make Head at Siena, or in any other Place, being defirous to enter the Kingdom of Naples before he met with any Obstacle.

But, as foon as Lautrech moved from Affairs of Bologna, Giovanni da Sassatello restored the Pope. the Castle of Imola to the Pontisf, which

B b 4

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A. D. he had seized while he was a Prisoner; and, when Lautrech afterwards approached Rimini, Sigismondo Malatesta, Son of Pandolfo, agreed with him to restore that City to the Pontiff, on condition that he obliged himself to let his Mother enjoy her Dowry, to give his unmarried Sifter Six Thousand Ducats, and to affign a yearly Revenue of Two Thousand Ducats between him and his Father; and that Sigifmondo should immediately depart out of Rimini, leaving his Father there, till the Pontiff had ratified the Agreement; and that, in the mean time, the Castle should remain in the Hands of Guido Rangone, his Captain, who entered into Pay with the King of France, and followed Lautrech to the War. But the Pontiff delaying to fulfil these Engagement, Sigismondo reposfessed himself again of the Castle, not without grievous Complaints of the Pontiff against Guido Rangone, as if he had given him tacit Permission, nor without some. Suspicion also that Lautrech and the Venetians had confented to it, as desirous to keep him under continual Difficulties; the Venetians, in particular, on account of Ra-

Reasons for his-Jealoufy of Lautrech and the Venetians.

venna,

1528.

venna, which the Pontiff having, as foon A. D. as he was delivered from the Castle, sent the Archbishop of Siponte to demand of that Senate, had received a general Answer, in which they referred themfelves to what Gasparo Contareno, whom they had appointed Ambassador to him. should declare to him on that Subject. For, the they had at first protested that they retained it for the Apostolic See, yet they were quite averse to restoring it, induced as well by public as private Interest, fince that City lay very convenient for enlarging their Empire in Romagna, abounded itself in Corn, and by the Fertility of the neighbouring Country afforded Opportunities for exporting yearly vast Quantities for Venice, and many of the Venetians had large Estates in that Territory. As to Lautrech, he entertained some Jealoufy of him, because that General, besides using many Sollicitations before, having, fince his Departure from Bologna, dispatched to him Vaudemont, Captain General of all the German Foot, together with Longueville commissioned by the King, to make very close Instances with him

1394

him to declare against Casar, especially fince he could now do it with Security, by the Approach of the French Army, had not been able to prevail with him, the Pontiff not expresly denying, but delaying, and making Excuses. On this Occafion he had offered the King of France to give his Confent, on condition that the Venetians would restore to him Ravenna; a Condition which he knew well could take no Effect, as the Venetians were not to be induced to it by the Persuasions of the King, and it did not fuit with the Times for the King to provoke the Enmity of the Venetians to fatisfy the Pontiff. To this was added his Refusal also to give Ear to the Sollicitations of Lautrech for his ratifying the Agreement made with the Duke of Ferrara, alledging that it was a Thing very unworthy to give his Approbation, when he was alive, to Conventions made in his Name while he was dead; he would not however refuse to make an Agreement with him. Hence the Duke of Ferrara, taking that Occafion, made a Difficulty, though he was received into the Protection of the King

of

395 1528.

of France and the Venetians, of sending A. D. to Lautrech the Hundred Men at Arms, and paying the Money he had promised, as one, who, doubting the Issue of Affairs, was careful not to adhere so closely to the King of France, as to leave himfelf no Room at all Events to make his Peace with Cafar, to whom he had excused himself from his Necessities, and continued to entertain George Fronsperg, and Andrea di Burgo at Ferrara.

THIS however did not prevent Lau-Lautrech trech from proceeding with the Army, the Fronwith which, on the Tenth of February, tiers of he arrived at the River Tronto, which Naples. feparates the Ecclefiastic State from the Kingdom of Naples.

BUT in France, when the King was Cafar's informed that his Ambassador was detain-dor deed, he ordered the Ambassador of Casartained in to be confined in the Chatelet of Paris, France. and all the Merchants that were Subjects of Cæsar throughout France to be detained. The same was done by the King of England with respect to Cæsar's Ambassador.

A. D. dor, but as foon as he understood his own 1,528. was not detained he fet him at Liberty.

Kings debate on the Seat of War.

lives on

-MONT

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and paying the Money he had promifed, Now the War being proclaimed in France, England, and Spain, the King of France infifted on beginning a War jointly in Flanders, as a Prelude to which he had made Incursions into that Country with some of his Troops, and carried off Spoils, the People of Flanders making no Movement on that account, but only to defend themselves, because Lady Margaret, endeavouring to avoid as much as possible all Occasions of entering into a War with the King of France, did not fuffer her Men to march out of their Country. But the King of England was very loth to have War with the People of Flanders; for, tho' certain Towns, before promised him by Casar as Security for Money lent, were, as foon as they should be conquered, to be refigned to him, yetit would be very prejudicial to his Revenues, and to his Kingdom, to interrupt the Commerce of his Merchants in that Province; but not knowing how openly to refuse it, on account of the Convention, he deferred

it as long as he could, alledging that, by A. D. the Articles of that Obligation, it was lawful for him to delay Forty Days after the Declaration of War, in order to give the Merchants Time to withdraw with their Effects. The Most Christian King knowing this was his Will, and the Occasion of it, treated with him about attacking, instead of Flanders, the maritime Parts of Spain with a good Fleet, the King

of France affirming that he held Intelli-

gence with those People.

These Debates at last occasioned the King of England to send the Bishop of Bath into France, to persuade that King to lay aside all Enterprises beyond the Mountains, and to increase his Forces, and push on the War in Italy; by whose Counsel and Encouragements it came to pass that, for the Space of the Eight ensuring Months, Hostilities were suspended between the Kings of France and England, and the Country of Flanders, with the other circumjacent States subject to Cæsar. That the King of France might the more easily condescend to this Agreement, the

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A. D. King of England obliged himself to pay 1528. Thirty Thousand Ducats, every Month, Italy defined the fole Seat fied the Contribution before promised for of the War. Six Months.

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Bu T as the Preparations for War were thus continually increasing, so likewise were the Animolities more and more kindled between the Princes, who took all Occasions to affront one another, and to contend no less in Spirit and Emulation than with Arms. For Cafar having about two Years before in Granada, at the Time when Peace was in like manner treated of between him and the King of France, faid to the President of Grenoble, the King's Ambassador, certain Words, which imported that, in order to prevent Christian People and fo many innocent Persons from fuffering any longer under the bad Effects of their Differences, he would freely decide the Controversy with him by fingle Combat; and fince that repeated to the Herald, when he had last denounced the War to him the same Words, adding moreover that his King had behaved four-

vily,

vily, and been false to his Word; the King of France being informed of the Ex- 1528. pressions, and imagining he could not pass them over in Silence with Safety to his Honour, though the Challenge would perhaps have been more becoming between fimple Knights than between two fuch Princes, convoked, on the Twenty-feventh of March, in a very large Hall of his Palace at Paris, all the Great Men, all the Ambaffadors, and the whole Court; after which, prefenting himself to the Assembly in all the Pomp and Splendor of the most fumptuous Apparel, and attended with a glittering Train, he went and placed himfelf in the Royal Seat, and ordered the Ambaffador of Geefar to be called, who, because it had been determined that he should be conducted to Bayonne, and fet at Liberty at the same time with the Ambassadors of the Confederates, who for that Purpose were on their way to Bayonne, demanded his Dismission. The King spoke, excusing himself by alledging that Cæsar having, by a new and barbarous Example, detained his Ambaffadors and those of his Confederates, had been the principal Caufe

that

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A. D. that he had been also detained. But fince he was now to go to Bayonne, that Liberty might be given to all at the same Time, he defired him to carry to Cæfar a Letter of his, and to deliver from him alfo a Message, importing that whereas Cafar had faid to the Herald that he had broken his Word, he had faid what was false, and that he lyed every Time that he repeated it; and that, instead of an Answer, for a speedy Determination of their Differences, he defied him to meet him in the Field, where they two might decide the Quarrel in fingle Combat: And the Ambassador refusing to carry either the Letter or the Message, he added that he would cause the same to be signified by a Herald, and that, though he knew also that his Master had spoken Words reflecting on the Honour of his Brother the King of England, he did not mention it, because he knew that King was fufficient to defend it, but if he should be prevented by any bodily Indisposition, he offered to expose

> his own Person for him. The same Defiance was made a few Days after, with the fame Solemnity and Ceremonies, by

> > the

Francis gives the Lye, and a Challenge to Cæfar.

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the King of England. It was not how-A. D. ever reputed much for the Honour of the Christian Princes, engaged in a War of King of England such Importance, and so prejudicial to all challenges Christendom, to involve themselves al-Casar. so in personal Quarrels.

So great an Ardor for War and Arms did not however divert the King of England from his amorous Cares, which, having once begun to fill his Breast with lawless Passion, broke out at last into utmost Cruelty, and horrid and unexampled Wickednesses, to the very great and eternal Dishonour of his Name, who, having His Aobtained of Leo the Title of Defender of mours censured. the Faith, by shewing himself very observant of the Apostolic See, and causing a Book to be written in his Name against the Impiety and poisonous Herefy of Martin Luther, now acquired the Title of an impious Opposer and Persecutor of the Christian Religion.

THE King of England had for his Seeks a
Wife Catharine, Daughter of the late Divorce
Ferdinando and Elizabeth Sovereigns of Queen
Vol. IX. C c Spain: Catharine

A. D. Spain: A Queen certainly worthy of such Parents, and for her Virtues and Prudence highly beloved and respected by all that Kingdom. She had been before married, while his Father Henry was alive, to his eldest Brother Arthur, and, after she had bedded with him, being left a Widow by the untimely Death of a Husband, was, by common Confent of the Father and Father-in-law, married to Henry the younger Brother, after first obtaining a Dispensation from Pope Julius for the Impediment of fo near an Affinity. The Fruits of this Matrimony were only a Son, who was foon fnatched away by an untimely Death, and a Daughter; which gave Occasion to many in the Court to murmur that, because it was an unlawful Marriage, and indispensable in the first Degree, the Parties had been miracuoufly deprived of male Islue. The Cardinal of York taking his Opportunity from this Discontent, and from the Defire which he knew the King had of Sons, began to perfuade the King to divorce his first Wife, who was not in justice his Wife, and contract Matrimony with another; moved not by Conscience, or merely by a Defire that the King should have

n A. D. 1528.

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have male Successors, but by a Persuasion that he could induce the King to espouse, Renée the Daughter of King Lewis, of which he was extremely defirous, because, knowing that he was hated by the whole Kingdom, he wanted to be prepared against whatever might happen, both during the Life, and after the Death of the King; incited also by the great Hatred which he had conceived against Cæsar, because he did not fatisfy his extravagant Pride neither with Appearances nor with Effects; and he did not doubt but that, by the great Authority which the King and He had with the Pontiff, he should obtain of him a Power to make the Divorce valid in

THE King gave Ear to this Counsel not with the same View as York designed, but indeed, as many say, not so much from the Enamourable Desire of having Sons, as because he was ed of Anne enamoured of one of the Queen's Maids of Honour, born of low Parentage, whom he had an Inclination to take for his Wise, this Design of his being unknown to York, and to every one else. But when his Intention began to be discovered, or conjectured,

Cc 2

it

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A. D. it was out of York's Power to disfuade him from making a Divorce, because he would not have had Authority to advise him to the contrary of what he had before persuaded him to do; and the King having already demanded the Opinions of Divines, Lawyers, and Religious, had received an Answer from many of them, that the Matrimony was invalid, either because it was their Belief, or to gratify, as is customary with Men, the Prince.

Sends Am- As foon therefore as the Pontiff was bassadors delivered out of Prison, he appointed to the Pope with Ambassadors to solicit him to enter into Offers. the League, and to operate, as he should fee fit to direct them, for the Restitution of Ravenna, but principally to obtain Leave for making a Divorce, which he did not feek by way of Dispensation, but by way of Declaration that the Matrimony with Catharine was null. And the King persuaded himself that the Pontiff, finding himself weak in Forces and Reputation, and without Support from other Princes, moved also by the fresh Obligagation of the great Favours received from

mid o gan to be discovered, or conjectured,

# him by his Deliverance, would easily A. D. consent to his Desire, especially as he knew that the Cardinal of York had great Authority with him, because he had always favoured his Interest, as he had before that of Leo. And that the Pontiss might not alledge as an Excuse the Fear of giving Offence, by such a Step, to Casar, the Son of a Sister of Catharine, and to win him over by Liberality, he offered to pay, for his Security, a Guard of Four Thousand Foot.

THE Pontiff heard this Proposal; but Pope detho' he confidered the Importance of the lays to Affair, and the great Scandal that might the King. refult from it, yet finding himself at Orvieto, and as yet neutral between the King of France and Cæfar, and in little Confidence with either of them, and therefore thinking it of no small Importance to preferve the Friendship of the King of England, he durst not contradict this Demand, but rather shewed himself desirous to please the King; yet by still prolonging the Affair, and raising Difficulties against the Means that were proposed, he kindled Cc 3 the For

could only af

and his Ministers, which was the Source of many Evils, and continually increased.

Excuses himself from entering into the League.

BUT when the Pontiff had heard Vaudemont and Longueville, and given them an Answer in general Terms, he fent to the King of France, together with Longueville, the Bishop of Pistoja, to convince him, that, being destitute of Money, Forces, and Authority, his Declaration could be of no Service to the Confederates; that he could only affift in treating of Peace, for which End he had a Commission to wait on Casar, and exhort him to it in fevere Terms. But the King, tho' he was not displeased at the Neutrality of the Pontiff, yet, doubting that he fent the Bishop to treat of some other Affairs, did not give his Confent; nor did Cafar complain of the Pontiff, while he stood neuter. England, he durft not contradict this

State of the Confederate Fleet. But at the time that Lautrech proceeded forwards, and that the Fleets were appointed to do the same, many Difficulties presented themselves against the latter.

For

For the twelve Venetian Gallies, which had at first put into Livorno, having greatly suffered in the Enterprise on Sardinia, and by bad Weather, and Want of Provisions, failed the Tenth of February from Livorno for Corfu, in order to refit. The Venetians however promised to send twelve others in their Room to join the French Fleet, which also had laboured under Difficulties, from what it had fuffered at Sea, and by the Differences that arose between Andrea Doria and Renzo da Ceri, on account of which, tho' Renzo lay fick at Pifa, it was defigned that Doria, who had put into Livorno

with all the Gallies, should sail from thence with his own Gallies for Naples; and that Renzo with the French Gallies, four of Fra Bernardino, and the four Gallies of the Venetians, which were all got together, should attack Sicily.

would be diversed thichen and when it Doria however with his Eight Gallies, and Eight others of the French Fleet, retired to Genua, alledging that it was neceffary to give the Gallies as well as himfelf some Repose, either because this was Cc 4 really ads.

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A. D. 1528.

Genoese demand Liberty.

A. D. really his Motive, or because the Interests of the Affairs of Genoa inclined his Mind already to new Projects. For the Genoese having demanded of the King that he would grant them Leave to establish a Free Government among themselves, offering for the Gift of Liberty Two Hundred Thousand Ducats, and the King having refused it, it was believed that Doria, who was the Author, or at least the Promoter of these Demands, would not be pleased with the King's Acquisition of Sicily, unless Liberty were granted to the Genoese. There was also publicly reported another important Cause of Misunderstanding; for the King having dismembered the City of Savona from the Genoese, it was doubted that, within no long time, by the Favour of the King, and the Conveniency of the Port of Savona, the greatest Part of the Commerce by Sea would be diverted thither; and when it was also made a Station for the Royal Navy, and had a Dock to build Ships for the King, Genoa would be deprived of Numbers of its Inhabitants and of its Riches. For these Reasons Doria laboured hard with

the

409 the King that Savona might be restored to A. D. 1528. its antient Subjection under the Genoese.

But the Affairs of Lautrech proceeded Lautrech with greater Felicity than the maritime Ex-proceeds peditions. That General, as foon as he prosperwas arrived at Ascoli, detached Pietro Navarra with his Foot towards Aquila, Jeramo and Giulia Nova having already submitted at the Fame of his Coming. Marquis of Saluzzo with his Troops followed him by the Way of Lionessa, and more behind One Hundred and Fifty Light Horse, and Four Thousand Foot of the Black Bands of the Florentines under Oratio Baglione. The Venetians had also promised to send him, without the Person of the Duke of Urbino, Four Hundred Light Horse, and Four Thousand Foot of the Troops which they had in the Territory of Rome; and, in Compensation for the rest with which they were bound to affift in the War against the Kingdom of Naples, they had agreed to pay each Month Twenty-three Thousand Ducats, and declared that, with the Fleet defigned for the Enterprise on Sicily, they would have

at

at Sea Thirty Six Ships. It manifestly however appearing that they were tired, they proceeded very flowly in their Expences, as did also the King of France; for at this time Advice came to Lautrech that the Affignment made him by the King, when he left France, of One Hundred and Thirty Thousand Ducats each Month for the Charges of the War, and of which he had still to receive about Two Hundred Thousand, had been reduced to no more than Sixty Thousand Crowns each Month, and that only for three Months enfuing. At this News Lautrech was in deep Despair, and complained that the King had no Sense of Reason or Faith, nor was affected with the Remembrance and Example of his own Losses. For the King's diverting the Money and Forces that were to ferve him for the Defence of the Dutchy of Milan to the Enterprise of Fonterabia, was the Cause, he said, of his losing that State.

Takes A. THE Affair of Aquila succeeded hapquila. pily; for, on the Approach of Pietro Navarra, the Prince of Melfi abandoned the Place.

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Place, and the Bishop of that City, Son of the Count di Montorio, entered it in the Name of the King of France. The German Foot of the Venetians also took Possession of Civitella, a small but strong Town Seven Miles beyond the Tronto, by Capitulation, preventing Two Hundred Spanish Harquebusiers, who were on their March to enter the Place. The Example of Aquila was followed by the whole Country of the Abruzzi, and the whole Kingdom of Naples would have done the same in a very short Time, if the Imperial Army had not marched out of Rome.

THAT Army, after a multitude of Difficulties, and many Tumults which arose among them, because the Soldiers demanded to be paid for the Time passed since the Deliverance of the Pontiss, marched Imperiatute out of Rome on the Seventeenth of Febru-Rome.

ary; a Day of very great Breathing to the Roman People after such long Sufferings, if, immediately after their Departure, there had not entered the Abbot of Farfa, and others of the Orsini, with the Peasants of their Territories, who did very great Danages

mages

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A. D.

1528.

A, D. mages in the City for many Days together.

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ROME was left spoiled by the Army not only of a great Part of its Inhabitants, with Numbers of Houses desolate and destroyed, but also of Statues, Columns, rare Stones, and many Ornaments of Antiquity. The Germans however unwilling to leave the Place without the Money of two Pays, (for the Spaniards confented to go without another Payment) the Pontiff, who was desirous that Rome should be evacuated, was necessitated to pay them Twenty Thousand Ducats more, which he payed under Pretence of freeing the two Cardinals Hostages; and after this they received Twenty Thousand under the Name of the Roman People, it being questioned whether these too were not paid by the Pontiff, though under this Name to give the less Cause of Complaint to Lautrech, who however complained very grievously that the Pontiff by his Money had been the Cause of the Departure of the Army from Rome, by which a most manifest Victory was reduced to the dubious Events of

War.

413 A. D.

War. There marched out of Rome, as it A. D. is reported, One Thousand Five Hundred
Horse, Four Thousand Spanish Foot, and between Two and Three Thousand Italians, and Five Thousand German Foot; so greatly were these last diminished by the Pestilence!

The Departure of the Imperial Army from Rome constrained Lautrech, who else would have taken the most direct Road to Naples, to go a longer Way about through Puglia, on that Side towards the Sea, because of the Difficulty of conveying the Artillery through the Mountains, if he should meet with Opposition from the Enemy in those Places, and much more for the fake of furnishing himself with Provisions, that he might not come to want them if he should be necessitated to stop the Course of Victory at the Walls Lautrech of Naples. He proceeded therefore to his Con-Civita di Chieti, the Capital of the Hither quests. Abruzzi (for the River Pescara divides the Hither from the Farther Abruzzi) where Sermona, and many other Towns of that Country submitted to him, and with

A. D. with fo great an Inclination, either out of Affection to the Name of the French, or Hatred to that of the Spaniards, that almost all the Places anticipated their Submission before the Army approached within twenty or thirty Miles of them. He proceeded however with more Slowness than he might have done, in order to advance forward with the greater Steadiness and Security. And it was believed that, to fecure himself of collecting, during all March, the Revenue of the Duty on Wool in Puglia, which amounted to Eighty Thousand Ducats, and was levied in five Towns. he was to have fent thither Pietro Navarra with his Foot, from whose odd Way of Management, which Lautrech was necessitated to bear with, there was not much Order in the Army.

Progress of the French Army.

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BUT Lautrech advancing from Guaflo, and informed that a Part of the Enemy's Army, joined by the Prince of Melfi with One Thousand German Foot of those brought by Don Carlo the Viceroy from Spain, and by Two Thousand Italian Foot that had marched out of Aquila, were

come

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come to Nocera, forty Miles distant from A. D. Termini towards the Sea-coast, and another Part to Campo Baffo, thirty Miles from Termini, on the High Road to Naples, ordered forward Pietro Navarra with his Foot, and he himself on the last of February arrived at Serra, eighteen Miles distant from Termini, from whence on the fourth of March he proceeded to San Severo. But Pietro Navarra advancing forwards entered in one Day into Nocera, and the next into Foggia, entering through one Gate, when the Spaniards, who had retired to Troja, Barletta, and Manfredonia, were about to enter in at another; and this Acquisition furnished the Army with a Sufficiency of Provisions.

Lautrech had with him in all Four Hun-Number dred Lances, and Twelve Thousand Foot, of Lautho' none of the choicest Troops; but he Army. was to be joined by the Marquis of Saluzzo, who marched before all, the Troops of the Venetians, and the Black Bands of the Florentines, which last were greatly defired by Lautrech; for as they were a Body of Infantry as famous for their Dexterity

fantry at that time in *Italy*, they ferved as a Seafoning to his Army, in which were firm Troops, and steady in Fight.

Motions of the Armies.

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Bur Lautrech understanding by the Report of Pietro Navarra, whom he had fent to view the Situation, that in and about Troja were Five Thousand Germans, Five Thousand Spaniards, and Three Thoufand Five Hundred Italians, and finding himself unable to keep the Field, because of the excessive Cold, on the Eighth of March removed with all the Footand Light Horse to Nocera, and put the Marquis of Saluzzo, just then arrived, with the Men at Arms, and a Thousand Foot into Foggia, declaring that he would come to a Battle if an Opportunity offered, both for other Reasons, and because, his Appointments from the King being diminished, he could not long support the Charges of the War; and he left the Ambaffadors. and the People unfit for War, with a small Guard, in San Severo. Thus he thought himself in a secure Situation, and under no Necessity to fight, unless with Advan-

tage; and he was in no Want of Provisi- A D. ons, tho' there was a Scarcity of Meat. On the Twelfth of March he took the Field again three Miles beyond Nocera. and four Miles from Troja, for Nocera and Barletta, which are twelve Miles distant from one another, are but eight Miles distant from Troja; and the Imperialists, who had affembled almost all the Troops which were in Manfredonia and Barletta, and had plenty of Provisions in Troja, tho' the Soldiers, except the German Foot, were not paid, sallied out to skirmish; the next Day they took the Field without Artillery in a strong Post on the Hill of Troja. On the Fourteenth Lautrech furrounded that Hill on the upper Quarter which looks fouthward towards the Mountain, and turning his Face to Troja began to ascend, and gaining an Eminence, after a great Struggle, made a Lodgment which commanded theirs, and with the Fire of his Cannon constrained them to retire Part into Troja, Part on the Back of it, taking Possession of their Camp, so that Troja and the Imperial Army remained between the French Army and San Severo.

Vol. IX. Dd Situation

Situation rendered it difficult for the Imperialists to receive the Succours that might be expected from Naples, and in a great measure also obstructed the Conveyance of Provisions to them, though, as they were discharged of Baggage and useless People, they did not consume much; and, on the other hand, they prevented the Conveyance of Provisions from San Severo to the French Camp, and also kept in danger San Severo, which they might attack with Part of their Troops without being discovered by the French.

Situation of the Armies.

418

1528.

The Armies standing thus encamped, the French beyond Troja towards the Mountain, and the Imperialists at the Quarter on this Side towards Nocera at the Back of the Town upon a well fortisted Spot, and the greatest Part of the circumjacent Places being in the Hands of the French, they remained in this Situation until the Nineteenth, spending the Night in perpetual Alarms, and the Day in Skirmishes, in one of which Martio Colonna was taken Prisoner; and in the mean time the Convoys of Provisions from

419 6 A. D. 1528.

San Severo and Foggia to the French A. 1 Camp were frequently intercepted, which occasioned some Scarcity, and made it necessary to appoint large Escorts.

In this Juncture, the Imperial Generals consulting together what Measures to take, the Marquis del Guafto advised a Battle, because the French Army increased every Day, and their own diminished. But more Deference was paid to the Counsel of Alarcone, who represented that there was more Hope of Victory in standing on the Defenfive, and temporifing, than in trufting to the Arbitration of Fortune. On the 19th the Imperialists, to avoid Annoyance from the Enemy's Artillery, retired into Troja; but afterwards, having fortified their Camp against the Artillery, they returned thither in good feafon, and unluckily returned back again into Troja. But on the Twentyfirst at Break of Day they broke up, and inflademarched towards the Mountain to Ariano, camp. which was a good Day's March, leaving in Troja a Sufficiency of Provisions, contrary to the Expectations of the French, who, because they had secured the Passes by which Dd 2

A. D. which they must have been conveyed, had vainly promised themselves the Victory.

THE Reason of their Decampment was supposed to be, either a Design to draw the French into a Place where they would suffer for Want of Provisions, or the Advice which they had received that the Black Bands were expected in the Camp the next Day. These Troops, as they proceeded forwards, had in their March taken up their Quarters in Aquila, where, without having received any Injury or Provocation, but meerly for a greedy Desire of Robbing, they villainously sacked that City.

Black Bands plunder Aquila.

Lautrech on the 22d encamped at Lionessa on the River Ofanto, called by the Latins Ausidus, Six Miles from Ascoli, and sent the Black Bands and Pietro Navarra with his Foot and two Pieces of Cannon to besiege Melsi. Here, a small Breach being made, the Gascons approached the Wall, and the Black Bands, with greater Fury, contrary to the Orders of their Officers, did the same; and each Nation striving

striving to outdo the other, their Flanks being exposed to the continued Fire of Harquebuses, they were repulsed with the Death of many of the Gascons, and of about Sixty of the Black Bands; and the fame Evening they sustained almost an equal Loss, having returned, when it was late, after the Battery had been continued, to give another Affault. But in the Night there arrived in the Camp a fresh Supply of Artillery fent by Lautrech, with which the Besiegers having the next Morning erected two great Batteries, the Peasants, who were numerous in the Place, began, out of Fear, to be tumultuous, and the Soldiers, who were about 600, feized with Apprehensions of the Danger of the ken and Tumult, abandoned the Defence; fo that the facked by Besiegers entered, and put all the Peasants, and Men of the Town to the Sword, the Soldiers with the Prince retiring into the Castle, where soon after they surrendered, as the Besiegers said, at Discretion, tho', as the others pretended, with an Exception to Life. The Prince with a few of his Men were faved, all the rest were put to the Sword, the Place facked, and the Kil-

Dd 3

led

A. D. led amounted to Three Thousand Men. In the Town was found good Store of Provisions, which was a mighty Relief to the French, who, by their ill-providing themselves, laboured under the greatest Necessity in Puglia of what that Country produces in the greatest Abundance.

On the 24th the Spaniards departed from Ariano, and halted at Tripalda, Twentyfive Miles from Naples on the direct Road, and Forty Miles from the Ofanto, where they were joined by the Viceroy, the Prince of Salerno, and Fabritio Maramaus, with Three Thousand Foot, and Thirteen Pieces of Cannon; and it was faid that Alarcone was marched out of Naples with Two Thousand Foot, to protect the Collection of the Duty of Wool. Lautrech however remained on the Ofanto till he had supplied himself with a great Store of Provisions, and all his Troops were encamped between Ascoli and Melfi; and, fince the Calamity of Melfi, Barletta, Trani, and all the circumjacent Towns, except Manfredonia, where was a Garrison of One Thousand Foot, had submitted to him:

him: And having detached Pietro Navar- A. ra with Four Thousand Foot to attack the Castle of Venofa, the Garrison consisting of Lautrech Two Hundred and Fifty Spaniards, aftermakes a brave Refistance, surrendering at Discretion, he kept the Officers Prisoners, and dismissed the Soldiers without Arms. He had also taken such Measures that the Duty on the Puglian Wool was collected for him; but, on account of the Impediments occasioned by the War, it did not amount to half the usual Sum. While he lay here encamped the Proveditor Pisano arrived with the Venetian Troops, in Number about Two Thousand Foot. Thus did the General employ himself in securing Plenty of Provisions in his Camp, which was facilitated by the Reduction of Ascoli taken by the Venetians.

In this Situation of Affairs Lautrech, affuming Spirit from his prosperous Suc-Affairs of cesses, pressed the Pontiss in a haughty the Pope. Strain to declare for the League. His Holiness had removed his Court to Viterbo; for the Viterbians had at first, by the Procurement of Ottaviano degli Spiriti, re-Dd 4 solved

A. D folved not to admit his Governor, yet they complied afterwards out of Fear. At the fame time Vespasiano Colonna dying, and appointing, in his last Will, that his only Daughter Isabella should be married to Ippolito de' Medici, the Pope seized on all the Towns that he possessed in the Territory of Rome, though Ascanio pretended that, on Failure of the male Line of Prospero Colonna, they belonged to him.

In the mean time Monopoli had furrenMonopoli dered to the Venetians, for whom, accordfurrendering to the last Convention made with the
ed to the Venetians. King of France, were to be conquered all
those Ports of the Kingdom of Naples of
which they werein Possession before the
Defeat they received from King Lewis in
the Ghiaradadda.

Duke of Ferrara fends his Son into France.

begiot

424

THIS Prosperity of the French induced the Duke of Ferrara to send his Son into France, to perfect the Matrimony which before, when he resused also to be General of the League, he had purposely delayed.

Dd4

BUT

425

But Cæsar, in so great a Danger of the Neapolitan Kingdom, providing no Supplies of Troops from Spain, for from the Cæsar Parts he had sent no more than Six Hundred Prepares Assistance Foot, of no great Service, to Sicily, had from Gergiven Orders that a fresh Body of German any. Infantry, under the Duke of Brunswic, should march from Germany into Italy for the Relief of that Kingdom; and these Troops were prepared with the greater Sollicitude, in proportion as it was understood that the Progress of Lautrech occasioned a greater Necessity of Succours.

To oppose the Coming of these Forces, Preparathat they might not consound the Hopestions of the League of Victory, it was appointed, by the comin Opposimon Consent of the Kings of France and tion.

England, and of the Venetians, that Monseigneur Francis de St. Pol, of the Family of Bourbon, should pass into Italy with Four Hundred Lances, Five Hundred Light Horse, Five Thousand French Foot, Two Thousand Swiss, and Two Thousand Germans, in order to follow the Enemies if they marched towards the Kingdom of Naples, or, if not, to make War, in conjunction

426

A. D. junction with the Troops of the Venetians and of Francesco Sforza, against Milan. For the Maintenance of this Army were allotted Sixty Thousand Ducats each Month, of which Thirty Thousand were to be contributed by the King of England, and the Venetians, in a Council of the Pregadi, had made a Decree to levy Ten Thousand Foot.

Miserable A T this time the City of Milan, by

the severe Government of Antonio da Leva, State of Milan. was in Extremities and miserable Subjection. For, in order to provide for the Payment of the Soldiers, he had taken into his Hands all the Provisions of the City. and making of them a public Magazine, and felling them out on his own Account, raised Money to pay them, all the Inhabitants, to avoid dying of Hunger, being forced to buy them at what Price he pleafed, which the Poor wanting Means to do, many perished in almost every Street; and the Money raised this Way not being fufficient to fatisfy the German Soldiers who

were distributed into Quarters in the Houses, they plagued the Landlords every

Day

Day with new Extortions, keeping those A. D. who did not pay them in Chains; and because, to avoid those Barbarities, and intolerable Burdens, many were fled, and were continually flying from the City, notwithstanding the Severity of the Orders, and the Vigilance of the Guards, Processes were ordered for confiscating the Goods of the Absent, who were fo numerous, that, to avoid the Tediousness of Writing, they caused them to be put in Print. The Nobles who remained were very poor and ill-clothed, and those Parts of the City that were formerly the most frequented were now over-run with Nettles and Briars.

THE Author of so many bitter Calamities, and severe Punishments, was however very fortunate in all his Undertakings: For the Governor of Mus, in the Service of the League, having laid Siege to Lecco with Six Hundred Foot, and taken away the Shipping, that the Spaniards who were in Como might not succour the Place by the Way of the Lake, Antonio da Leva, having ordered the Foot from

428

A. D. from Novara, marched out of Milan, and at the Distance of Fisteen Miles made a Halt with the Germans; and, having made himself Master of the Fort of Olgina, fituated on the Adda, which had been taken before by the Governor of Mus, he detached Filippo Torniello with the Italian and Spanish Foot to the Relief of Lecco, which lies on the other Bank of the Lake, where Mus, with the Affistance of the Troops fent him by the Venetians and the Duke of Milan, and with Artillery furnished by the Venetians, had seized on all the Passes, and fortified them, tho' difficult of themselves by the Ruggedness of the Places, and of the Mountains. But the Imperialists having seized an Eminence opposite to Lecco, and overlooking that Place, after they had in vain attempted a Passage in several Places, at last forced a Pass guarded by the Troops of the Venetians, whom the Governor, either because he reposed less Confidence in their Valour, or to expose them to less Danger, had posted in the most rugged Places. On this the Governor with his Men and Artillery getting on board the Vessels faved 0000

faved his Troops, there being fome Su- A. D. fpicion that the Venetians had made but a slight Defence for the Sake of grati-Antonio fying the Duke of Milan, who would relieves not be pleased that Lecco should be Lecco. taken by the Governor; who, however, not long after, that he might obtain by Agreement what he could not compass by Arms, went over to the Imperialifts, and was by Antonio Leva, in confequence of the Treaty, put in Possession of Lecco and other Places, obtaining also of Geronimo Morone, who by his Letters had been the Author of this Negotiation, the Cession of his Rights. By this Agreement Antonio da Leva, struggling with Famine, obtained a very seasonable Relief both in Provisions and Money; for the Governor, aspiring after higher Matters, assumed afterwards the Title of Marquis, paid Thirty Thousand Ducats, and fent Three Thousand Sacks of Corn to Milan.

In the mean time Lautrech advanced towards Naples, and on the Third Day of April was at Rocca Manarda, leaving for the

### THE HISTORY OF

430

A. D. the Security of Ruglia, where only Manfredonia held out for Cæsar, 50 Men at Arms, 200 Light Horse, and between 1500 and 2000 Foot, all Troops of the Venetians. But the Imperial Army, refolving to attend only to the Defence Imperialists retire of Naples and Gaeta, abandoned all the to Naples. circumjacent Country, after they had facked Nola, and conveyed the Provisions that were in Capua to Naples, in order to deprive the Enemy of Subfiftence, and posted itself on the Mountain of San Martino, from whence it afterwards entered into Naples, confisting of Ten Thousand German and Spanish Foot, the Italian Foot being all disbanded, except Six Hundred, who ferved under Fabritio Maramaus, for Sciarra Colonna with his Foot was marched into the Abruzzi.

THERE remained but very few Inhabitants in Naples; for all those of Substance or Quality were retired to Ischia, Capri, and other neighbouring Isles. The Place was said to be provided with Corn for a little more than two Months, but of Flesh and Forage there was but a small Quantity.

Capua,

Capua, Nola, Acerra, Aversa, and all A. D. the circumjacent Towns furrendered to 1528. Lautrech, who halted four days with the Capua, Army at the Abbey of Acerra, feven render to Miles from Naples, having proceeded, Lautrech. and still advancing, but slowly, because of waiting for the Provisions, which were hindered by the bad Roads, and by the Rains, which had filled the Plains with Water; and he had need to be provided with very large Quantities, fince it is reported that in his Army, according to the modern Corruption of Military Discipline. were above Twenty Thousand Horses, and Eighty Thousand Men, Two Thirds useless People. From this Place the Ge-

By this time also Filippino Doria, Nagles with Eight Gallies of Andrea Doria, and blocked Two Ships, was arrived on the Coast of by Sea. Naples, and had taken a Ship laden with Wheat, and with his Cannon dislodged

neral sent Simone Tebaldi, a Roman, with One Hundred and Fifty Light Horse, and Five Hundred Corsicans, not in Pay, come over from the Imperial Camp, to possess

himself of Calabria.

the

A. D. the Imperialists from the Maddalena. But tho' a little after he took two other Ships laden with Wheat, and was the Cause of many Inconveniences to the Enemy, yet his Gallies were not fufficient to keep the Port of Naples entirely blocked up. Wherefore Lautrech requested that the Sixteen Gallies of the Venetians might join him, which, after they had been flowly refitted at Corfu, were arrived in the Port of Trani. But the Venetians, tho' already Masters of the Cities of Trani and Monopoli, yet, preferring their own Profit to that of others, tho' all things depended on the Conquest of Naples, delayed to fend them, because they would first reduce Pulignano, Otranto, and Brindis.

On the Seventeenth of April, Lautrech encamped at Caviano five Miles from Naples, and the same Day the Imperialists, who abounded in light Horse, their Diligence and Sollicitude getting so much the better of the Negligence of the French, took from them a great Quantity of Provisions, which they wanted; and had fortified Sant' Ermo, seated on the Mountain of San

San Martino, and overlooking Naples, in A. D. order to prevent the French from taking the Advantage of that Post to annoy the Imperiability pre-Place with their Cannon, and because, pare for a being Masters of that Hill, they could vigorous almost secure the greater Part of the City from the Approaches of the French, who, on the other hand, had some Hopes given them by the Discord among their Enemies, the Marquis del Guasto having, for some private Causes, wounded Count di Potenza, and killed his Son.

On the 21st the French Army advanced to Casoria, within Three Miles of Naples, on the Road to Aversa, and the same Day was a Skirmish under the Walls of Naples, in which was killed Migliau, Migliau the Person who had with much Vehe-killed. mence opposed the Releasement of the Pontiss, for which he himself had carried Orders from Cæsar to the Generals.

On the 22d Lautrech encamped a Pozzuolo Mile and half from Naples, where he furrenprohibited Skirmishing as useless; and Pozzuolo had already surrendered to him.

Vol. IX. Ee AT

A. D. 1528. Lautrech comes before Naples.

AT last, on April 29, the Army came before the City of Naples, and encamped between Poggio Reale, a very magnificent Palace, built by Alfonso the Second of Aragon, while he was Duke of Calabria, and the Mountain of San Martino, the Troops extending themselves within half a Mile of Naples. Lautrech himself took up his Quarters more forward than Poggio Reale, at a Country Seat of the Duke of Monte Alto, in which Place he fortified himself with Intrenchments that stretched towards the Road to Capua; an Encampment made in a very strong Situation, and by which he cut off from Naples the Conveniency of the Aqueducts that come from Poggio Reale. From this Place he defigned to make afterwards another Lodgement more forwards, on an Eminence under the Hill of Sant' Ermo, in order to straiten Naples the more, and to annoy the City from a nearer Post. But to form a clear Idea of these Passages, it seems necessary to describe the Situation of the City of Naples, and of the Country about it.

The End of the Eighteenth Book, and Ninth Volume.



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